Is Agnew Washed Up? *John Osborne*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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A Journal of Politics and the Arts — November 14, 1970, 50 cents

The Faking of a President—1970

Business in Government —*Mark Green*

Family Planning —*Warren M. Hern*

Buying an Image —*Zalin B. Grant*

Rape of Tamar —*Theodore Solotaroff*

Peter Caws on "Greening"

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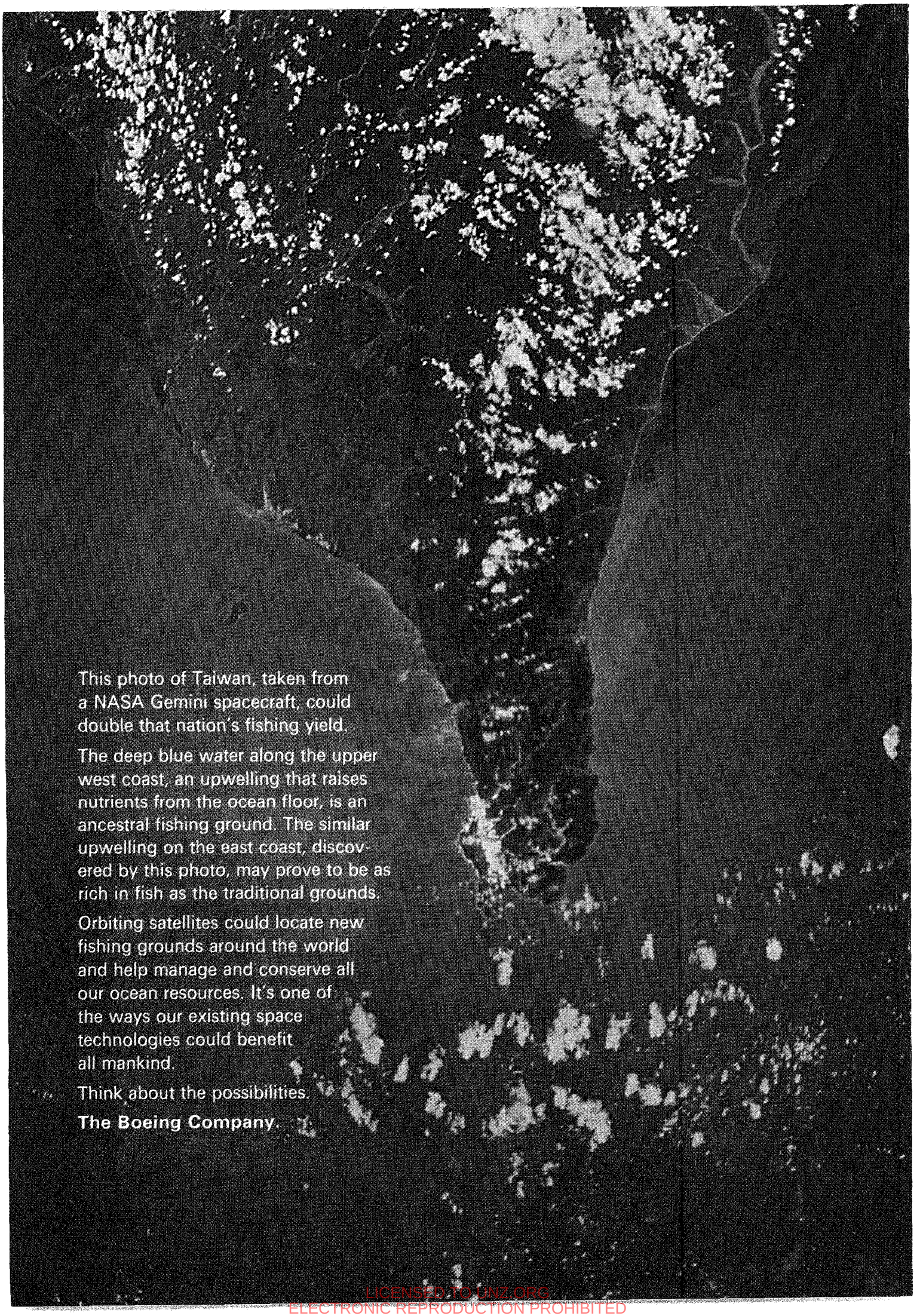

This photo of Taiwan, taken from a NASA Gemini spacecraft, could double that nation's fishing yield.

The deep blue water along the upper west coast, an upwelling that raises nutrients from the ocean floor, is an ancestral fishing ground. The similar upwelling on the east coast, discovered by this photo, may prove to be as rich in fish as the traditional grounds.

Orbiting satellites could locate new fishing grounds around the world and help manage and conserve all our ocean resources. It's one of the ways our existing space technologies could benefit all mankind.

Think about the possibilities.

The Boeing Company.

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Would you pay $7.95 for a child's gift that won't be outgrown, broken, worn out, lost or forgotten six months after Christmas?

The name of this unique gift is HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN. It is the most honored, and possibly the most beloved, monthly children's magazine in the world. And, in a day and age when fads in toys and trinkets and clothes appear and vanish almost before you turn around, HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN could be one of the most exciting Christmas presents you will ever give.

For HIGHLIGHTS is not only different from the usual gift; it is different from other children's magazines as well.

Its intent is not only to delight and entertain, but to challenge and teach. The editors are nationally known experts in child psychology and family life; they firmly believe that the growing child finds his greatest pleasure in thinking, creating, and surprising himself and his parents by reaching intellectual heights no one had ever suspected he could.

Eleven times a year, HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN brings its young subscribers good fiction and poetry; authoritative articles on science, music, math, nature, astronomy and famous people; lessons in good manners; craft projects; puzzles, games and just plain fun. Each issue is 42 or more pages long, bound in sturdy tagboard. The pages are attractively and colorfully illustrated; the type is large and easy-to-read. There are no coloring or cut-out pages, for HIGHLIGHTS is meant to become part of each young subscriber's permanent library.

HIGHLIGHTS *appeals to a wide age range:* from tots of 2 who love to listen to its stories and do the simple preparation-for-reading exercises within its pages . . . to 12-year-olds who find the biographies and science articles prime sources for school reports. A special annual Resource/Index issue, coming at the end of each calendar year, organizes each year's 11-issue collection as a reference source, to be turned to again and again as the child's interests and reading ability expand.

HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN is not available on the newsstands, but is sold by subscription only, for the editors feel that part of its value is its continuing program of fresh, imaginative material.

It is sent addressed to the child himself, something all his own in a world where so much seems to be decided by adults. Where there are several children in the family, a single subscription may be shared in several names.

For a relatively small price, HIGHLIGHTS brings your love and remembrance to children you treasure . . . not just at Christmas, but eleven times a year. The contribution HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN can make to a child's development, however, as it reinforces reading as a pathway to pleasure and information, is a gift that will last a lifetime.

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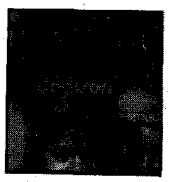
42745 WOODSTOCK—Soundtrack (3 records)
Cotil LP

65784 MELANIE—Leftover Wine
Budda LP, 8TR, CASS

44256 PAUL MAURIAT—Christmas Album
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS

30554 DIANA ROSS & SUPREMES
Motow LP, CASS

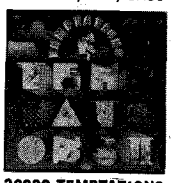
34510 HARRY SIMEONE—Little Drummer
TweCe LP, CASS



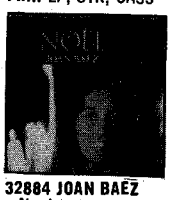
30628 JACKSON 5
Third Album
Motow LP, 8TR, CASS

67511 STEPPENWOLF—7
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

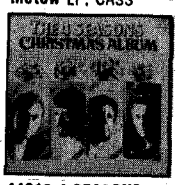
44753 TRAFFIC—John Barleycorn Must Die
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS



30622 TEMPTATIONS
Greatest Hits, Vol. 2
Gordy LP, 8TR, CASS

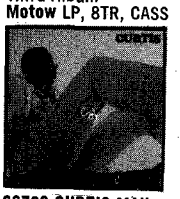


32884 JOAN BAEZ—Noel
Vangu LP, 8TR

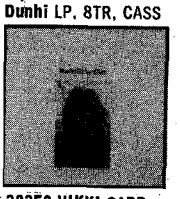


44216 4 SEASONS—Christmas Album
Phili LP

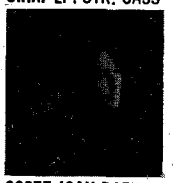
44334 SWINGLE SINGERS—Christmastime
Phili LP



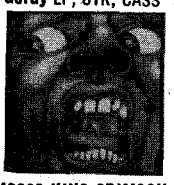
66703 CURTIS MAYFIELD—Curtis
Curto LP, 8TR, CASS



38358 VIKKI CARR—Nashville By Carr
Liber LP, 8TR, CASS



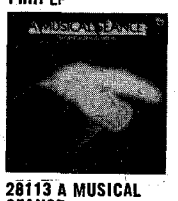
33077 JOAN BAEZ—One Day at a Time
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS



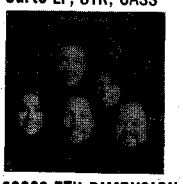
42693 KING CRIMSON
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS

17263 GREGORIAN CHANT
Phili LP

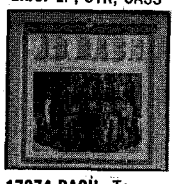
44365 JACQUES BREL—If You Go Away
Phili LP



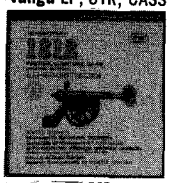
28113 A MUSICAL SEANCE
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS



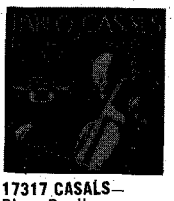
39089 5TH DIMENSION—Greatest Hits
SouCi LP, 8TR, CASS



17274 BACH—Ten Chorale Preludes
Phili LP



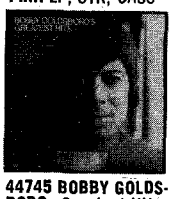
16759 TCHAIKOVSKY—1812 Overture
Mercu LP, 8TR, CASS



17317 CASALS—Plays Beethoven
Phil LP

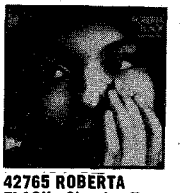
42673 LED ZEPPLIN II
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS

34525 HELLO DOLLY—Soundtrack
TweCe LP, 8TR, CASS

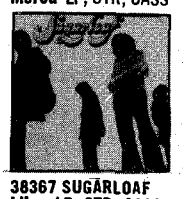


44745 BOBBY GOLDSBORO—Greatest Hits
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

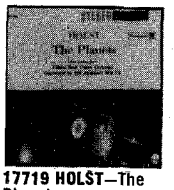
38364 CANNED HEAT—Future Blues
Liber LP, 8TR, CASS



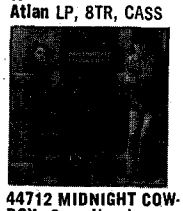
42765 ROBERTA FLACK—Chapter Two
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS



38367 SUGARLOAF
Liber LP, 8TR, CASS



17719 HOLST—The Planets
MusGu LP



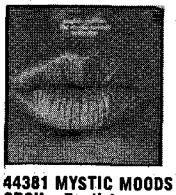
44712 MIDNIGHT COWBOY—Soundtrack
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

67510 THREE DOG NIGHT—Naturally
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

39071 5TH DIMENSION—Age of Aquarius
SouCi LP, 8TR, CASS

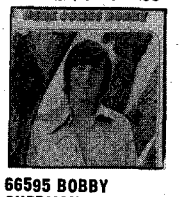
44378 PAUL MAURIAT—Gone Is Love
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS

65775 VERY BEST OF LOVIN' SPOONFUL
KamSu LP, 8TR, CASS

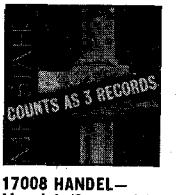


44381 MYSTIC MOODS ORCH.—English Muffins
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS

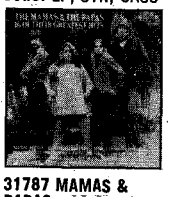
30618 DIANA ROSS
Motow LP, 8TR, CASS



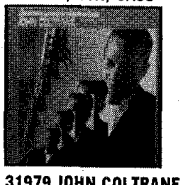
66595 BOBBY SHERMAN—Here Comes Bobby
Metro LP, 8TR, CASS



17008 HANDEL—Messiah (3 records)
Phili LP



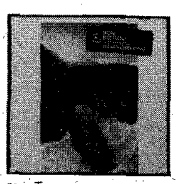
31787 MAMAS & PAPAS—16 Greatest Hits
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS



31979 JOHN COLTRANE—Transition
Impul LP

66671 RARE EARTH—Ecology
RarEa LP, 8TR, CASS

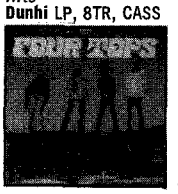
44758 FERRANTE & TEICHER—Love Is A Soft Touch
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS



42770 IRON BUTTERFLY—Metamorphosis
Atco LP, 8TR, CASS

42704 CROSBY, STILLS, NASH & YOUNG—Deja Vu
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS

38359 IKE & TINA TURNER—Come Together
Liber LP, 8TR, CASS



30607 FOUR TOPS—Still Waters Run Deep
Motow LP,8TR,CASS

43860 ERROLL GARNER—Feeling Is Believing
Mercu LP,8TR,CASS

48794 BEVERLY SILLS—Sings Mozart & Strauss **ABC** LP

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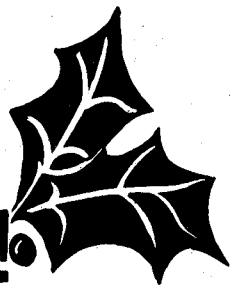

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Yes, take your pick of these great hits right now. Choose any 3 Stereo LPs (worth up to $20.94) or any 1 Stereo Tape (cartridge or cassette, worth up to $6.98) FREE... as your welcome Christmas gift from Record Club of America when you join at the low lifetime membership fee of $5.00. Also, you can give Christmas Gift Memberships to friends or relatives along with the free selections. We make this amazing offer to introduce you to the only record and tape club offering guaranteed discounts of 33⅓% to 79% on all labels—with no obligation or commitment to buy anything ever. As a member of this one-of-a-kind club you will be able to order any record or tape commercially available, on every label—including all musical preferences: jazz, rock, classical, country & western, opera, popular, soul, foreign, etc. No automatic shipments, no cards to return. We ship only what you order. Money back guarantee if not satisfied.

See for yourself why over ¾ million record and tape collectors paid $5 to join Record Club of America when other record or tape clubs would have accepted them free.

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CAN YOU CHOOSE FROM ALL LABELS? LP's OR TAPES, INCLUDING CARTRIDGE AND CASSETTE TAPES?	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES! Choose any LP or tape on any label! No exceptions! Over 300 different manufacturers including Capitol, Columbia, RCA, Angel, London, etc.
MUST YOU BUY A "MINIMUM" NUMBER OF RECORDS OR TAPES? HOW MANY?	12	12	12	10	6	NONE! No obligations! No yearly quota! Take as many, as few, or nothing at all if you so decide!
HOW MUCH MUST YOU SPEND TO FULFILL YOUR LEGAL OBLIGATION?	$59.76 to $71.76	$83.76 to $95.40	$59.76 to $71.76	$49.80 to $59.80	$41.70 to $47.70	ZERO DOLLARS You don't have to spend a penny—because you're not "legally obligated" to buy even a single record or tape!
CAN YOU BUY ANY RECORD OR TAPE YOU WANT AT A DISCOUNT?	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ALWAYS! Your discount up to 79% OFF. Guaranteed never less than a third! No exceptions!
DO YOU EVER RECEIVE UNORDERED RECORDS OR TAPES?	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NEVER! There are no cards which you must return. Only the records and tapes you want are sent—and only when you ask us to send them.
HOW LONG MUST YOU WAIT FOR SELECTIONS TO ARRIVE?	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	Your order processed same day received. No shipping on cycle.

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$5.98 LPs average as low as $2.19

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Peter, Paul & Mary—10 Years Together	WarBr	5.98	**2.19**
Creedence Clearwater Revival—Cosmo's Factory	Fanta	4.98	**1.88**
Lettermen—Reflections	Capit	4.98	**1.88**
Bessie Smith—Any Woman's Blues	Colum	5.98	**2.19**
Neil Young—After Gold Rush	Repri	4.98	**1.88**
Mantovani—In Concert	Londo	4.98	**1.88**
Santana—*Abraxas*	Colum	5.98	**2.19**
Glen Campbell—Goodtime Album	Capit	5.98	**2.19**
Jimi Hendrix & Otis Redding—Live at Monterey	Repri	5.98	**2.19**

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Ordinary record and tape clubs make you choose from a few labels—usually their own! They make you buy up to 12 records or tapes a year—usually at list price—to fulfill your obligation. And if you forget to return their monthly card—they send you an item you don't want and a bill for $4.98, $5.98, $6.98, or $7.98! In effect, you may be charged almost double for your records and tapes.

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We're the largest **all-label** record and tape club in the world. Choose any LP or tape (cartridges and cassettes), including new releases. No exceptions! Take as many, or as few, or no selections at all if you so decide. Discounts are GUARANTEED AS HIGH AS 79% OFF! You always save at least 33⅓%. You get best sellers for as low as 99¢.

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We are the only major record and tape club NOT OWNED...NOT CONTROLLED...NOT SUBSIDIZED by any record or tape manufacturer anywhere. Therefore, we are not obliged by company policy to push any one label. Nor are we prevented by distribution commitments from offering the very newest LP's and tapes.

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from Washington

After the Ball

We have a feeling that last week's election, which Mr. Agnew calls a "victory," will make Mr. Nixon a one-term President. He did score some points, of course. But they were overbalanced, we think, by long-term loss. He scared a lot of moderate Republicans in Congress who didn't like to see their fellow Senator, Charles Goodell (NY), kicked around. He angered a lot of Democrats who didn't like to be linked by implication with softness on crime, riots and pornography and who are likely to change their attitude in Congress from mild criticism to venomous antagonism. And he upset quite a few ordinary citizens who had hoped that he would really lower his voice and bring the country together again. Instead, they recalled the old Nixon, the gut fighter, who used to find his opponents tainted with communism; who now finds them tainted with "permissiveness"; and who, in 1972, will find them tainted with God-knows-what.

Looked at merely as an academic proposition, we think Mr. Nixon made a mistake in going all-for-broke at mid-term. He bet everything on long odds. Last January, for a while, it did seem just possible that the GOP could capture the Senate; yes, maybe even the House. But the game plan for recovery went sour. First Mr. Nixon was going to tar Democrats as "spenders" but rising unemployment ruined that. So that brought the permissiveness caper. Even so, he might have left it to Spiro, but no, he had to get into the scrum himself and waggle his fingers in the V-for-Victory sign from the top of his car at the unfriendly youths, as he did at San Jose, daring them to shout. As he climbed down, he remarked, "They hate that." He had a perfect legal right to do it, of course. Under the circumstances it was like thumbing his nose.

Why have most Presidents wisely held back at mid-term elections? It is because, I think, they realize the peculiar mystique of the American Presidency and its dual nature – head of state and head of party; Archbishop of Canterbury and Mayor Daley. In England they separate the two. There is royalty, treated with reverence; and there is the prime minister, treated with reasonable respect. The current *Reader's Digest* tells us roguishly how eggs were thrown at Prime Minister Wilson in the recent election; it became, says the *Digest* article, "something of a sport, and the egg count exceeded 20 by the time the campaign ended." If the *Digest* can smile I guess we can; did Mr. Wilson see it as the corruption of an entire generation? Not at all; the *Digest* says negligently, "Wilson took the assault with aplomb, at one point quipping, 'The price of eggs cannot have risen as much as the Tories have been telling us'."

Well, ha, ha. Those amusing English. Certainly eggs are different from rocks, and a prime minister from a President. But the fact remains that when an American chief of state personally intrudes in a nasty contretemps he must consider whether, as a partisan muscleman, he can preserve the dignity of his other role, spiritual leader? Certainly, youths shouldn't throw stones at a President. It is intolerable, period. But were they throwing at the *President*, or at a provocative partisan chief?

The only explanation we know for Mr. Nixon's unprecedented election gamble is that he believed all that stuff about "a great silent majority," a Goldwater tide waiting to be released, a fundamental movement of the United States toward the right. He was willing to take extraordinary risks for that. Was the tide there? Well, we have all read the election returns. No such majority emerged. There was a tryst – but no tide. This column doesn't argue that it was a Democratic victory. As we interpret it, it was generally a stand-off. A stand-off, that is, numerically. But it wasn't any stand-off, at least as we figure it, in Mr. Nixon's prestige. He bloodied the Democrats' noses and now must live with them in Congress. It will make it much harder for him to govern. He ended the above-the-battle, bring-us-together, pose. He gambled his prestige and lost some of it.

Usually there is a good-natured aftermath to an election as we look back, shake hands, and smile at our folly. But there will be less of that this year, we fear. There is a bitter aftertaste.

There was one funny thing in the campaign, anyway, that may make Ed Muskie President. We wouldn't have believed it if we hadn't seen it. Democrats came down the homestretch dead broke as their rivals outspent them 5-to-1. What was more natural than for the GOP to blow in a final wad on an all-network rebroadcast of Mr. Nixon's celebrated Arizona speech upholding law and order?

The only thing was, the soundtrack was terrible. All three networks told the Republicans so – noble, of course; lofty and inspiring, certainly but, dammit, you couldn't hear it. The bemused GOP moguls wouldn't listen.

A small Democratic group meanwhile panhandled $150,000 to put on an answer. And that is why suddenly, after thousands of angry viewers clogged the telephone wires to protest that they could just barely figure out what Mr. Nixon was talking about they suddenly had one of the most startling and dramatic juxtapositions since the Kennedy-Nixon debate in 1960. The nationwide, captive audience found itself looking at a man faintly remembered – shaggy, long-nosed, prim-mouthed Ed Muskie, looking Lincolnesque and speaking clear as a bell from up there in Maine.

Electronics had done Mr. Nixon in again, as the horrible studio lighting did in 1960 that emphasized his jowls and may have cost him victory. Many supporters will go to their graves believing it was a network plot.

Some find a numbing quality in Muskie's low-keyed delivery; why can't he at least *act* mad? But in this case it was oddly effective as he registered moral revulsion. Some opponents, he said quietly, imply that Democrats "actually favor violence, and champion the wrongdoer." He didn't raise his voice, didn't thump the table; he just looked as though he had seen some loathesome critter on a piece of apple pie. "This is a lie," he said simply. "And the American people know it is a lie."

It was a good line; we shouldn't forget it.

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The Faking of a President–1970

The aim of the President in the campaign that ended last week was higher, or lower, than the election of a few more Republicans. It was to remake the Republican party as the party of the majority, and it assumed that the majority was ripe for reaction and that it could be scared into swinging to the right. In that belief and to that end Mr. Nixon and his agents criss-crossed the country, telling the electorate that only the President's men could save the nation from rocks and Spock, and that the "radical liberals" (read Democrats and a stray Republican) were the allies of violence and permissiveness. It was unadulterated fakery; the electorate was not stampeded; and Muskie was right to say that the deception showed contempt for the public. That public turned out to be panic-proof, after all. The voters preferred nice guys to noisy guys; above all preferred incumbents who had not triggered massive resentment by going against their constituents on some sensitive issue. The voters tended to ignore TV blitzes, to split their tickets and to give little comfort to militants of the right or left.

In the Senate, two conservative seats were won by liberals (Adlai Stevenson III in Illinois, John Tunney in California), two liberal seats went to moderates (J. Glenn Beall in Maryland and Robert Taft in Ohio), two liberal seats went to conservatives (William Brock in Tennessee and James Buckley in New York), and the seat of a Cold War Democrat (Senator Dodd) went to a Republican moderate, Lowell Weicker, Jr. of Connecticut. Counting the primary loss of liberal Ralph Yarborough of Texas to a conservative, the election produced a very slight addition to the weight of moderates, who have held the balance of power in the Senate all through the 91st Congress.

In the House, there was a more perceptible change, toward the liberal side by upwards of 10 to 15 votes. A fistful of antiquarians were dismissed: Martin McKneally in New York, defeated by John Dow; E. Ross Adair of Indiana, beaten by Edward Roush; Henry Schadeberg of Wisconsin, replaced by Leslie Aspin; Ed Foreman of New Mexico defeated by Harold Runnels. Gone are Republican Representatives William Ayres of Ohio, Catherine May of Washington, Odin Langen of Minnesota. All were replaced by Democrats of a more modern stripe. Antiwar forces were strengthened by the election of Dow, John Seiberling of Ohio, James Abourezk of South Dakota,

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Bob Bergland of Minnesota, Teno Roncalio of Wyoming, and Romano Mazzoli of Kentucky. Add to this list Bella Abzug, Charles Rangel and Herman Badillo in New York; Robert F. Drinan in Massachusetts; Parren J. Mitchell and Paul Sarbanes in Maryland; Ron Dellums of California, and Ella Grasso in Connecticut, and it's not a bad new class. The black community will have an additional three House seats.

Most important, the voters wiped out a major part of the GOP base at a statehouse level, starting with Ohio and Pennsylvania, moving westward through Wisconsin and Minnesota and Idaho and New Mexico, and picking up Arkansas and Florida in the South. The Democrats gained 13 statehouses, and lost two for a net win of 11. For the first time in years, the Democrats have a battery of bright, new governors such as John Gilligan in Ohio, Reuben Askew in Florida, Shapp in Pennsylvania, and Lucey in Wisconsin.

During months of careful preparation, a huge war chest had been raised and a large number of the GOP's most promising young legislators had been tapped by Mr. Nixon to do battle with Democratic Senate incumbents. The challengers fell on every side: William Cramer (Florida), George Bush (Texas), Lawrence Burton (Utah), Thomas Kleppe (ND), John Wold (Wyoming), Clark MacGregor (Minnesota), and probably Richard Roudebush (Indiana). The House seats of at least three of them – Burton, Wold and Kleppe – went to Democrats. And with the exceptions of Brock in Tennessee and Buckley in New York, no Nixon winners took the wild Agnew line.

The Northeast was the biggest disappointment to liberals. There, in the supposed heartland of opposition to the Administration, the White House scored in Connecticut with 41 percent of the vote and in New York with under 40 percent. In both states, however, the Democratic vote was divided in three-way races. Without a sharp split in the anti-Nixon forces, the result would have been different, and there would have been virtually no change in the Senate.

In the Midwest, the rock-Spock bugaboo fell flat. Illinois gave Adlai Stevenson III a whopping majority over Senator Ralph Tyler Smith, whose campaign was one of the crummiest in the country, and Phyllis Schafly, the right-wing author of *A Choice, Not an Echo*, lost her bid for Congress. The farmers in the great plains, mad because the Administration is trying to scrap, once and for all, the "parity" formula, turned out Republican Rep. Langen in Minnesota and handed the Democrats both House seats in South Dakota, plus one each in North Dakota and Wisconsin. In addition, they helped Senator Quentin Burdick (D) turn back a heavily financed drive to unseat him. The farm vote isn't that big, but historically it's where trouble starts. Under Eisenhower, the farmers began shifting their allegiance in 1956; under LBJ, in 1966. Two years later, in both cases, they helped finish the job. One of the real shocks to the White House must have been Sen. Roman Hruska's narrow squeak in Nebraska. The President added a stop in Omaha to his schedule en route to California, more as a gesture to good old Roman than because he needed help.

The shaky state of the economy doubtless helped the Democrats. But those states in which the unemployment issue was supposed to be important – Connecticut, Michigan, Ohio and California, to name four – did not take revenge on the Republicans. That issue is not cutting deeply, yet. On the other hand, neither is white backlash. The Southern strategy got nowhere. By and large, the new Democrats who won in the South stayed clear of Wallace demagoguery. Albert Gore lost in Tennessee, but in South Carolina, moderate Lt. Gov. John West turned back Rep. Albert Watson, the protege of Sen. Strom Thurmond (R) in the governor's race. Arkansas, Florida and Texas went with the Democrats, as did Georgia. To pick up one Senate seat and one governorship (both Tennessee) and lose two governorships (Arkansas and Florida) cannot be interpreted as success for the President.

The Nixon-Agnew strategy, though it paid off poorly in immediate dividends for the White House may inadvertently have helped clear the political air. For one thing, it raised Senator Muskie to prominence as a principal spokesman for the Democratic Party. His brief TV talk on the eve of the election was a stunning contrast in style and substance to the Nixnews. He was rational, reassuring; he talked of the causes of unrest; he called for an end to "the shame of the ghettos," an end to racial injustice and to this "long and bloody war," the restoration of the degraded environment and of a "constantly rising standard of life." That will do for a Democratic platform.

Two more years of Nixnew are ordained by the Constitution, but how they are used by the Democrats, and by progressive Republicans as well, is a matter of free choice. As the Democrats move off the defensive and onto the attack, they can lay the foundations for a substantial victory in 1972. By sharpening the contrast between the two parties, they can also awaken the electorate, keep it awake, and invest politics with a meaning it has not had for years.

We said at the time of the Cambodian invasion that in our judgment Mr. Nixon would be a one-term President. We are surer of that today. Mr. Nixon is the first President since Zachary Taylor not to have had Congress with him on entering the White House. Last week's results suggest that he has no way of getting Congress with him. Why in those circumstances should he be able to win two years hence? Had war casualties stayed high, the Democrats surely would have gained many more seats. Mr. Nixon lowered the casualties, but doing so did not give him what he needed: the Senate. Nor did his law-and-order issue, nor his frantic travels, nor his big spending.

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The war may be over by 1972, and the crime rate lower, but it won't be enough to win the White House again for the Republicans. And if there's a slump, so much the worse for Mr. Nixon. Some politicians in that situation would fall back on their charisma. But this President's final weakness is that he has none.

All this is pure speculation. What is not speculative is that the modern men and women, those in both parties who are compassionate and intelligent, have a lot of thinking to do. Republican Senators Brooke, Percy, Case, and Hatfield will be up for reelection in two years. Will they stand as spokesmen for Nixnewism? Surely, after this campaign, they could not be comfortable in that role; and they need only observe what was done to their fellow senatorial candidates in New York and Maryland to appreciate that they, too, can be cut down any time the White House chooses to dismiss them as "radical liberals." We hope they will find ways of working with, perhaps joining, those in the Democratic Party in whose company they need not be ashamed. The moderate Republican senators are matched by a handful of Republicans in the House – Reid, Horton, Halpern, McCloskey, Gude, Conte, Morse, Mosher, and Whalen.

For the moment, the heat is off, and the Democrats have time to reflect on the identity that will best serve them and the country. During the last few months, some of them, those Mayor Lindsay called "timid progressives," did indeed compete "for a grip on the hard line," feeling that they had to "brag about the laws they had written, not to stop crime, not to reform our entire system of justice, but to legalize repression." Now they must ask themselves whether that is the line on which they will stand, or whether they will help revitalize their party as a progressive force. In the realignment of politics that we believe is slowly under way, it may be that some of the old-line Southern Democrats, those whose hearts and votes belong to Nixnewism, will "do a Thurmond." So much the better. It can then be left to the Republicans in the South (and Wallace) to woo white chauvinists and racists, and the national Democrats can get on with the job of building a party that reflects the aspirations which Senator Muskie expressed.

There is one assignment on which there ought to be no delay. There cannot be rational political debate, or any debate at all, unless something is done about the power of the purse to buy the eyes and ears of America. The President earlier this year vetoed legislation to waive the equal time provision and put a ceiling on what candidates may spend for television advertising. That fight must be resumed and won. It is monstrous that the purchase of time by the Republicans on all three networks for the President's speech on the night before the voting was counterbalanced only at the very last minute by a loan from Averell Harriman that gave Muskie the chance to state his party's case.

4.6 Million Jobless

Young black workers are suffering their worst period of unemployment since 1963. A half million of them are out of jobs and can find none. This is a calamitous 30.2 percent unemployment rate, and compares with 13.6 percent for young whites. General unemployment is now well above six percent in many parts of the country. Over 4.6 million are idle, two million more people out of jobs than last year. Of the extra two million unemployed, about 20 percent are without work because of the winding down of the space race, and financial muddles that have overtaken some defense contractors, like Lockheed. The remedy for that kind of unemployment isn't, it should be obvious, to try to pump up the moon balloon again – the public wouldn't stand for that – or to launch unnecessary new military programs. It is to rechannel those idled skills and technologies into more socially useful enterprises – combating pollution, building better homes and schools and parks and transport. There is not a trace of that brand of thinking in the Administration's policy, which is: cool the economy even if it stalls. Either plants and men will just stand down, offerings on the Nixon-Agnew altar of Coolidge-Hoover dogma. Or after a bit, war production will jerk forward again as the machine-tools bite on a new generation of weapons like the ABM, MIRV, the long-range submarine missile ULM, and the supersonic B-1 bomber. What a prospect.

Not only has the Nixon Administration succeeded in adding two million people to the unemployment tally since last year, which it virtually announced in advance it intended to do in the name of financial prudence; in addition, the Administration has failed to end or significantly slow down inflation, which its pundits declared would be curbed by its jobs purge. Instead, consumer prices go on climbing. It now costs $136.60 to purchase food and other necessities that last year cost $123.10. As the Democratic candidates tried these past weeks to remind the voters, harassed housewives are having to pay out more and more from husbands' pay-checks that are either static or shrinking. Next year, say the Nixon economists, prices will rise more slowly. It wouldn't be much consolation even if people believed it, which most don't, and their skepticism seems justified. For although Mr. Agnew claims the Republicans have become the party of the working man, he has not told us which working man. Some of Mr. Nixon's hard-hat friends have had big wage hikes, but that wasn't supposed to happen, and the President's business friends warn that these will prove "contagious." Which is another way of saying the Administration is on a treadmill of rising prices and falling employment with no clear thought on how to get off. Mr. Nixon's next gimmick may be one he formerly despised – "jawboning." But it won't work any better for him than it did for Lyndon Johnson.

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2.7 Million Troops

The $5 billion that Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird may slice from the federal budget through reducing US troops by a half million between now and next July won't cure the boss's budget headache, a possible $15-billion deficit. But the planned cut has given the jitters to those who entertain the fable that we are luring the Soviet Union into attempted rapine by a craven display of military weakness. Their fears are exaggerated. The reduction, if it is made, will leave 2.7 million men in uniform, which is quite a few considering that by mid-1971, according to the Administration's calculations, the Vietnam war will be, if not over at any rate Vietnamized and un-Americanized. True, the Soviet Union probably will still have about 2.9 million troops, the same as now. It will also have the same 800 million Chinese along its eastern land border.

In Europe, President Nixon announced this fall, the 300,000 American troops that bulwark NATO will not be reduced unless the Russians cut back, too. Our NATO allies have three million men under arms, almost three times the number who wear Warsaw Pact uniforms, and the military manpower gap is much larger than that overall figure suggests. For Russia's European allies, if the term isn't risible, consist of Czechs, Rumanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Poles and East Germans, not all of whom are inspired to reckless valor by Communist theory or Soviet practice.

So it might be thought that Laird's proposed manpower reduction would be hailed as a modest but sensible step; and a September Gallup Poll noted 49 percent favoring military cuts. But what is taken by one hand is put back by the other! Laird himself says that huge military *increases* may become unavoidable, and Vice President Agnew urged voters to purge Senator Charles E. Goodell and other "radical liberals" from Congress on the argument that if elected, these sincere but misguided men would be in a position to block "augmenting the armed forces." Laird predicated bigger military spending on failure of the strategic arms talks now going on again in Helsinki, so perhaps he is only trying to intimidate the Russians into a deal. But an arms freeze appears to be just what Agnew and others fear. For they imagine Russia is ahead in nuclear weapons. Again, the fears are exaggerated. The Soviet Union may have 400 more land missiles (220 of them obsolete), but the US has more than twice as many missiles on nuclear submarines, almost four times more intercontinental bombers, and altogether more than twice as many nuclear weapons. It's the Russians who have a nuclear gap with us, and they face as well angry Chinese who are building their own nukes.

While Agnew glooms about a "crippling cut in defense appropriations," Mr. Nixon seeks credit for Laird's projected manpower cuts. The President says that his Administration has managed to turn things around and that "for the first time in two decades" the federal government spends more on human needs than on weaponry. Does it? Of each federal tax dollar, 68 cents are Laird's. Mr. Nixon's calculation is gimmickry: he shrinks the arms spending ratio by counting trust fund outlays in total federal spending. The Administration has to borrow billions this year from those funds, to meet a budgetary deficit that is accountable to the Vietnam war. The spending ratio is put in sharper focus when we note that more money goes to develop the F15 fighter plane than to prevent and control disease; more for a tactical missile than for educating handicapped children; more for a battle tank than for drug control; more for teaching army generals and colonels to fly helicopters than is allocated totally to all four new environmental agencies; more for making the war movie *Tora* (in the form of a federal subsidy to 20th Century Fox) than to enforce fair packaging and labeling for consumers' protection. In short, the military isn't hurting, and if the national security is imperiled it isn't because too much goes for welfare and too little to Defense.

Dent in a Hard Hat

In his White House backed bid for the Senate seat of retiring Democrat Spessard L. Holland, Republican Representative William C. Cramer tried his hardest to clarify the issue for Florida voters. He succeeded well enough to help produce his own heavy defeat at the hands of Lawton Chiles, whom Cramer derided as "liberal Lawton." That was the issue. Cramer called himself a "hard hat" and, to prove it, he constantly wore a plastic one, accused Chiles of taking a soft line on crime and campus disorders, and said that a win for Lawton would assure what Cramer called continuation of the "ultra-liberal" Democratic leadership in the Senate. Cramer's trump card, as he thought, was his dire disclosure that Lawton Chiles "has the endorsement of the official spokesman of the new left – *The New Republic*."

This journal is not anybody's official spokesman. But we did prefer Chiles, who won handsomely. He owes his victory to his own tireless endeavors, as well as to Cramer's follies. Cramer a Harvard Law School graduate, is an eight-term congressman who in 1954 was elected as the first Republican from Florida since 1875. This year he defeated Judge G. Harrold Carswell for the Senate nomination. Chiles was unknown before he beat former Governor Farris Bryant in the Democratic primary run-off. But he walked many miles, talking cool common sense to voters while Cramer (like Governor Kirk, also defeated) raved against "liberals" and "the liberal press." We're pleased these tactics failed.

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The Nixon Watch

Is Agnew Washed Up?

Nothing could improve my opinion of Richard Nixon more than believable evidence that Vice President Agnew's performance during the 1970 political campaign washed him up with the President and caused Mr. Nixon to begin looking around for another running mate in 1972. *Newsweek*, this journal's *TRB*, and David S. Broder, the chief political writer of *The Washington Post*, found it credible in the last days of the campaign that Mr. Nixon might be in the market for another Vice President. Broder reported in the *Post* of October 27, the day before Mr. Nixon spoke in Texas in behalf of Congressman George Bush's candidacy for the Senate, that "the firm conviction of men intimately involved in White House political operations" was that the President would dump Agnew and replace him with Bush if Bush won his Senate race – which he didn't.

The only aspect of this and similar speculation that is dealt with here is the notion, from which all of the speculation rises, that the Vice President's performance displeased and disappointed the President. If Mr. Nixon revises his estimate of Spiro T. Agnew between now and 1972 and comes to prefer another candidate for the Vice Presidency, as of course he may, it won't be because Agnew did anything that he wasn't supposed to do or did it less well than the President expected in 1970. Probably no political campaign, and certainly none in which Mr. Nixon has been involved, has been more carefully devised and supervised by an incumbent President than this campaign was. One of its successes, election results apart, was the extent to which the media, the public and many politicians were gulled into regarding Agnew with his silly alliterations, his brutal and misleading attacks upon "radical liberals," his whole strategy of divisive polarization, as a personality and a voice apart and distinct from Richard Nixon. The Agnew who mounted the stump at Springfield, Ill., on September 10 and finished up at Boise, Idaho on October 31 spoke often of "my assignment" and "my mission," meaning the assignment given him and the mission defined for him by the President. He was Nixon's puppet, he knew it, and – as he said in Boise – he found his campaign role "not only exciting and a lot of fun, but also immensely fulfilling."

Mr. Nixon began shaping up the Agnew assignment in July and August of 1969. It was decided then to put the Vice President on the road and test his popular appeal with the series of attacks upon the media, "impudent snobs," "rotten apples," and "so-called intellectuals" that made him an effective national personality – so effective, in fact, that some of the President's assistants then turned their minds to the problem of how to use Agnew for the President's purposes and still keep him under adequate control. There followed some months of relative restraint, a narrowing of the Agnew targets from the offended poor and black and young to such public figures as senators who opposed Nixon actions and policies, foreign and domestic. Agnew during this period functioned pretty much on his own, though always (as he said) within understood limits of what the President wanted and expected of him. That phase ended publicly and officially on August 6, when the Vice President was allowed to announce for himself that White House Counsellor Bryce N. Harlow and four other Nixon men had been assigned to assist him during the mid-term campaign. They did more than assist. They produced the Agnew performance, and they did it along lines originally prescribed and rechecked throughout the operation by Mr. Nixon himself. The chief producer was Harlow, acting for the President in day-to-day concert with H. R. (Bob) Haldeman, Mr. Nixon's administrative chief of staff, who had much to do in his quiet way with devising the total campaign strategy and was charged with seeing that it was executed as the President wished.

A word about Bryce Harlow is in order before we return to the matter of whether Agnew finished himself with Nixon by serving Nixon. Harlow's association with the President dates back to the Eisenhower years, when he was a White House assistant and was often assigned to help the then Vice President. His loyalty to Mr. Nixon is total, his standing with the President is high. Perhaps more to the present point, Bryce Harlow is very good at evading difficult questions (such as whether he plans now to leave the Nixon staff and go go back to lobbying for a private employer). But he is no good at lying to reporters, and during an acquaintance that began in the 1950s I have never caught him lying to me. When I asked him about the reports that Mr. Nixon was unhappy with Mr. Agnew and was minded to dump him, Harlow answered: "That is entirely, absolutely false. I have no idea where that stuff is coming from. I've seen some of the stories, and some of them cite a White House source. If there is one, it is somebody speaking subjectively and for himself and not for the White House or the President. You can just throw it out – it's entirely false."

In the course of the inquiries that led me to Harlow, I heard it said at the White House and at the Republican National Committee headquarters that none other than Deputy Counsel Murray M. Chotiner might be leaking the stories of disaffection with Agnew. That was a startler, for Chotiner is a tough political pragmatist and long-time Nixon associate who specializes in devising just the kind of ruthless tactics that Agnew personified and practiced during the campaign. It was Chotiner, not Agnew, who initiated and pursued to its disgraceful and intended conclusion the process of excommunicating Republican Senator Charles Goodell of New York and thereby demonstrating to other

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dissident Republican liberals the perils of opposing their Republican President. Without putting Chotiner in the Harlow class of habitual nonliars, I credit him with sense enough not to tell lies that he could be caught at. When he was asked what he thought of Agnew's campaign effort, he said: "I think that it's been of great assistance to the candidates whom he has been supporting and that all this talk is coming from the opposition to the Vice President." As to the stories: "I haven't the slightest idea where they are coming from." When told that some people who function in his vicinity thought they might be coming from him, Chotiner said: "That not only is a figment of the imagination, but somebody must have had a nightmare. There is not one word of truth to it – directly, indirectly, or remotely."

Two of the President's staff Counsellors, Robert H. Finch and Daniel P. Moynihan, have made their distaste for Agnewism well-known in Washington. Moynihan is not consulted on political matters. Finch is, though not to the extent that reporters were led to think he would be early in the 1970 campaign. Instead of managing the campaign for the President from the White House, as he was expected to do, Finch spent most of his time and energies on the road in September and October, speaking for Nixon policies and Nixon Republicans in 25 states. His pitch differed in a significant way from that of the President and the Vice President. "If we can build a record of effectiveness, compassion and concern across all the boundaries of race and age and religion," Finch said in his standard speech, "then we will indeed build a new Republican majority over the face of this nation." Given such a record, he went about the country saying, "we will become the majority party – *and we will deserve to be*." Compassion and concern in the Finch meaning of the words, and the implicit suggestion that the Republican Party with another kind of record might not deserve to be "the majority party," were strikingly absent from both Nixon's and Agnew's speeches. It would be nice to think that the Finch view may prevail with Mr. Nixon, now that the election is past. But the modest role assigned to Finch and the fact that the White House publicity apparatus ignored his speeches do not suggest that it will.

There's been talk that Finch, a former lieutenant governor of California with sound claims to political effectiveness when he is given his head, may be shifted from the White House staff to the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee in the place of Congressman Rogers C. B. Morton of Maryland. If that happens, it won't necessarily signify a meaningful idealogical change. Morton is also a moderate, he would like to have a Cabinet job (maybe the one now held by Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel), and the working relationship between his committee organization and the President's staff politicians has been anything but happy. Morton's deputy chairman, James Allison, a former Texas newspaper publisher and professional campaign operative, is of a mind to leave the committee for one of the reasons that make Morton less than anxious to stay on. The reason is that the President and his staff people, Bob Haldeman in particular, have insisted upon running the GOP's national political operation from the White House. Directives signed by Haldeman have not encouraged Morton and Allison to believe that they are the responsible party builders that they are supposed in theory to be.

A recent bit of by-play in connection with the possible replacement of Morton by Finch illuminates the kind of thinking that goes into Nixon political management. It so happens that Finch, when he was Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, gained an undeserved reputation in the South for hard-nosed enforcement of school desegregation. Harry Dent of South Carolina, the President's staff Southerner, was sitting around with some of the boys one evening, discussing the talk of Finch-for-Morton. The others assumed that Dent would oppose such an appointment, on the ground that it would offend Southern Republicans and impede the effort to develop a successful Southern Republican party. Finch in the national chairmanship certainly wouldn't help, Dent said, but there might be a way around that difficulty if the President wanted to make the change. The Southerners could be told that it might be better for them to have Finch at the national committee, in a spot that had been proved to be largely honorific, than in his present place at the center of real power in the White House.

Now that the elections are over, with their limited and mixed rewards for the immense effort put into the 1970 campaign by the President and his Vice President, it may be assumed that a lot of thinking and rethinking will be going on at the Nixon power center. The controlling calculation that Middle America is conservative country and that Vice President Agnew speaks effectively for and appeals effectively to it should be in for reexamination. Agnew did exactly what he was instructed to do, exactly in the way he was told to do it, and the President capped the Agnew performance with his own, on exactly the same lines, and it didn't work as well as it was expected to work.

The question is, how will Mr. Nixon evaluate these facts? What, if anything, will he learn from them? My guess is that he will learn very little. Mr. Nixon's performance in the campaign tells an interesting thing about him. He campaigned in 1970 precisely as he did in 1968, with the same mannerisms, the same catchlines, the same display of a gut instinct that repels at least as many people as it attracts. In this respect, nearly two years in the Presidency taught him nothing and changed nothing.

John Osborne

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Buying an Image On Public TV

Public broadcasting is like a maiden amidst an army – eternal vigilance is the price of virtue. Take the temptation posed by institutional advertising, for example, which is illustrated by Mobil Oil's recent million-dollar grant to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Mobil will underwrite a 39-week series of one-hour dramas produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation and also will finance a new "Sesame Street Magazine." A public-spirited move, one would say, taken for good private reasons. Mobil has suffered one public-relations disaster after another this year. The federal government sued it for polluting Chicago waters; radicals proclaimed Mobil an enemy of the people and bombed its New York offices; President Nixon canceled the corporation's oil leases off Santa Barbara; and Mobil's commercial TV ads have been attacked as misleading. Now, for its million-dollar tax-deductible grant in public TV, Mobil gets 39 weeks of prime-time "institutional advertisements" (meaning Mobil's name will be flashed on the screen without reference to its products) before the highest-quality network audience in America. Mobil, says a TV official, "made the best public-relations buy in years."

Noncommercial TV advertising is nothing new. Hard strapped for funds, educational stations in the past have identified donors who made their programs possible. But public television's impact is just beginning to be felt, and there's fear that US corporations could use PTV's beggar status as a door to commercial exploitation. Institutional advertisements are pure gold for many of the nation's top businesses, worried about their image.

Mobil's contribution to the BBC dramas is the biggest yet from the business community. Xerox put $300-thousand into this season's new "Civilisation" series, and the company may shift half its advertising budget to public TV. Polaroid underwrites (rather than "sponsors") the Julia Child French Chef show. Quaker Oats gets TV credit in three major cities for bringing the public "Sesame Street." General Foods and IBM also have chipped in big sums.

Last May, the Federal Communications Commission issued new guidelines on institutional advertising. They confused rather than clarified. FCC Commissioner Robert T. Bartley charged in a dissenting statement that the guidelines, which permit institutional advertising within limits, "may result in commercialization and exploitation of noncommercial educational broadcast stations." The National Association of Educational Broadcasters, on the other hand, protested that the rules were too strict. The controversy has caused the FCC to postpone the implementation of the regulations. (Industry could solve the problem by giving public TV unrestricted grants instead of sponsoring specific programs, but such generosity is unlikely.)

The root of the problem is the dearth of money. Lyndon Johnson said that he would submit by 1968 a plan for long-range, permanent financing, but he never did. Nor has Mr. Nixon hustled to put public TV on an independent footing. This session, the Administration requested a three-year authorization of funds for public TV with no dollar limit. But House members, angered by Nixon's failure to settle the permanent funding question once and for all, cut the Senate-passed bill to a one-year authorization, hoping to force his hand. A Senate-House conference committee finally agreed to a two-year authorization at $30 million a year, though that probably will be whittled down when Congress goes back to work.

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting, an independent nonprofit corporation Congress established in 1967 to administer public television and radio, proposed the best plan for its own financing. The CPB wants a permanent trust fund, like the Highway Fund, that would be untouchable by Congress or the White House. Money would come from a special excise tax on television receiving sets. The fund easily would provide the less than $200 million needed annually for high-quality public programming. Additional funds, on a matching basis by the federal government, would flow from private contributions.

But at this point, chances the CPB plan will be approved are about as good as prospects of price supports for pot. Mr. Nixon, already loaded with economic problems, is not interested in slapping an excise tax on TV sets, particularly when a similar tax was repealed by the Democrats in 1965. The Administration probably will fall back on a plan for matching funds, doubling some percentage of the money public stations and the CPB raise themselves. This still would leave public broadcasting on a limb, prey to the vicissitudes of fund raising, of politics and of commercial exploitation.

Yet even on its low-calorie budget, public television is growing. National Education Television (NET) went into national production in 1958 (courtesy the Ford Foundation). Using the NET setup, Ford then set up a two-year Public Broadcasting Laboratory in 1967. The PBL experiment connected the nation's education stations with each other for the first time, solved some technical problems and expired on schedule last year.

In 1967, also, Congress passed the Public Broadcasting Act to establish the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The Corporation has continued to work on uniting the country's 198 educational stations (reaching 74 percent of the viewing population) into a strong fourth national network. Theoretically, CPB is simply a money-dispenser and a buffer to protect public TV from political influence. The Corporation isn't allowed to produce or distribute programs, but it formed a stepchild corporation, the Public Broadcasting Service, to

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distribute (but not produce) programs over an interconnected network.

So NET, the old hand, is still the primary source of programs. Maybe not for long, though. The plan is to have a half-dozen independent production centers scattered across the US, each competing for time on the PBS network. NET, now merged with New York's education station, will become just another producing station like Boston's WGBH or Los Angeles' KCET.

While "Sesame Street" accounts for much of public TV's current popularity, PBS is beginning to challenge almost anything on the commercial networks. The new season includes Sir Kenneth Clark's "Civilisation" and "The Vanishing Wilderness." They are mixed with such returning award-winners as "NET Playhouse," "The Advocates," and "Misterogers Neighborhood."

Zalin B. Grant

Keeping the Silent Majority Silent

Business in Government

by Mark J. Green

Suppose someone told you that for the past 28 years, the collection of information on corporate activities – information vital for public regulation of business abuse – has been controlled by business itself? Nonsense? No, fact. Since passage of the Federal Reports Act of 1942, enacted in wartime to simplify burdensome questionnaires sent citizens and firms, Bureau of the Budget "advisory committees," composed of officials from the largest corporations and trade associations, have determined what data would be gotten by the government from whom. The committees have no consumer, labor or small business representatives. They are financially nourished by five major trade associations which maintain offices nearby. Minutes of meetings, if any, are confidential.

Senator Lee Metcalf (D, Montana) has introduced a bill, S. 3067, to amend this 1942 Act to assure broader representation on the estimated 1500 public committees that are attached to various government agencies, and on October 5 hearings were held, focusing on the 16 committees which collaborate with the Office of Management and Budget. (The chairman of their umbrella Advisory Council, Charles Stewart, was invited to testify but declined.) A casual look at the composition of the committees tells the story. Chairman of the advisory Committee on Banking is the executive vice president of the Chase Manhattan Bank; the 11 members are from the largest banks in the country. Chairman of the Committee on Petroleum and Natural Gas is from Gulf Oil; the other 11 members are from comparable oil and gas firms. This pattern repeats itself throughout the structure. And since every government agency must get a clearance from the Office of Management and Budget (and from these committees) before sending out questionnaires to 10 or more firms, the power to decide what information is solicited becomes the power to shape policy.

For example, water pollution agencies have been trying since 1963 to get an inventory of industrial water waste. It was not until September, 1970, however, that a compromise version of a questionnaire, with assurances that responses would be treated in confidence, managed to get by the OMB's advisory committees. (It still has not been sent out.) Without full and accurate information of emission activities and degrees of present water pollution, effective standards cannot be devised, sanctions cannot be enforced. "It is disgraceful," the House Natural Resources and Power subcommittee said in 1968 "that the national industrial waste inventory proposed by the subcommittee has been delayed and obstructed for over four years." But the advisory committee to the Budget Bureau responsible for the delay and obstruction does not find it disgraceful: "Industry does not like to report effluents . . . [because] there is always pressure from the public to release the federal data and the companies are afraid that the data may get into the hands of the news media."

Proposed studies of the National Air Pollution Control Administration are reviewed by a "Smelting, Pulp and Paper Liaison Committee," one of whose accomplishments was to get the word "pollution" replaced in a proposed study by the word "emission." The committee then went on to ask whether it would be "possible to relate the report to the conservation of a natural resource – sulphur from the smelting in-

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dustry – rather than the control of air pollution?" The National Air Pollution Control Administration said no, that it could not, after all, connive in destroying its own jurisdiction.

According to the Federal Power Commission, the country will suffer an oil and gas shortage this winter. How does it know? Oil and gas trade associations told the Commission so. The FPC cannot obtain independent information unless the gas industry permits it. Lacking their own data, the agency relies on the supposed regulatees.

Apart from these Bureau of the Budget committees, there's the National Industrial Pollution Control Council, set up by President Nixon last April 9, with 30 committees to review pollution problems. If an outsider thinks he has something to contribute to their deliberations, he can forget it. On October 14, 10 consumer and environmental groups who had discovered the whereabouts of a Council meeting were denied admission. The chairman of the Council is Bart Cross, board chairman of Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing. At the time of his appointment, his firm had not yet complied with a 1966 Wisconsin order to stop polluting municipal sewers with sulphurous waste.

Why should corporations have such power over what information the government seeks, or the form or timing of requests? If questionnaire writing is a technical art, an office can be established in OMB to counsel agencies in their preparation of questionnaires. Why impede federal agencies, already under heavy pressure from corporate lobbying, from performing their legitimate task of gathering facts the public and Congress need?

This corporate lobbying is no joke, as is evidenced by the continuing debate last month between the Departments of Commerce and Justice over the so-called "Scott Amendments," introduced by the Senate Republican Minority Leader. Sen. Scott's bill deals with patents, those 17-year monopolies for new discoveries that are granted as incentives. Scott's intent is to resolve the conflict between patent law and antitrust law in favor of the former. The Amendments would reverse Supreme Court rulings and court-developed standards in such areas as compulsory package licensing, royalties paid after the patent's expiration, restrictions on suits against licensers, and various territorial restrictions. The bill would encourage price-fixing by patent, something no sane attorney would permit his client to do under present antitrust law. "Establishment of the Scott Amendments," according to one patent lawyer, "would effectively remove patent licensing from the reach of the antitrust laws and hence would destroy the measure of consumer protection provided against unjustified patent license royalties." Since the bill would give businessmen a greater return on research and development, Commerce favors it; since it costs consumers money without accompanying benefit, the Antitrust Division of Justice opposes it.

The Amendments have had no publicity, no hearings on their merits. Yet patent rights have a direct connection with higher prices to consumers, as we ought to know from our experience of exorbitant prices in the drug industry. The public may be forgiven if it is confused. The patent system is a mystery to all but patent lawyers, into whose hands the system is delivered. The Patent Bar is centered in the patent section of the American Bar Association, whose past chairman, William Schuyler, is the present Patent Commissioner. The American Patent Lawyers Association is also prominent on the scene. An affiliate of the APLA in Philadelphia proposed the amendments Senator Scott is offering. The Patent Bar supports the amendments, because its lawyers dislike the uncertainty of case-by-case adjudication; and they claim that more incentive, not less, is needed to encourage innovation. That assertion has been disputed by Donald Turner, former chief of the Antitrust Division, who is convinced the patent system costs too much already.

The inner truth is that the Patent Bar, attentive to retainer interests, knows that its clientele would profit from legalizing as many anticompetitive patent practices as possible. Those practices include setting the price the licensee must charge, or restricting liscensees to certain territories, so that the holder of the patent can squeeze maximum profits out of his 17-year monopoly. "The motivation," according to a patent attorney in Washington, DC, "is primarily to make patents a much greater force in commerce and industry than they are now and thereby to enhance the status of patent lawyers." Another says: "It's just a lawyers' game."

When nearly 70 percent of the patents challenged in courts in recent years are declared invalid, and when 75 percent of all research and development is subsidized by government, and especially since a Presidential study of antitrust urged *compulsory* licensing, it would seem more reasonable to further restrict patent rights, not expand them – notwithstanding the APLA and its clients, and the Commerce Department. For the moment, Commerce and Justice are delaying any formal decision on Scott's bid, but the record of the Nixon Administration on similar interagency disputes involving conflict between public and private interests (e.g., restrictions on textile imports, oil import quotas and the Failing Newspaper Act) makes it probable that Commerce will come out on top.

Finally, we come to the Internal Revenue Service's announcement of October 9 that it had temporarily

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suspended the issuance of new tax-exempt rulings for "public interest law firms" – organizations which litigate for various consumer and environmental issues against government and corporations. Veblen's dictum is illuminating: "Modern politics is business politics." The IRS says it has problems about whether such firms are "organizations operated for charitable purposes" under the tax code. The immediate effect of the decision was to delay 50 pending applications; it also deterred donations to these organizations, since the IRS press release hinted that such gifts were made at the donor's peril, dependent on a final decision by the IRS within 60 days.

The targets of the IRS attack, as noted in these pages two weeks ago ("Pollution Politics") are the highly visible and effective advocates for a public that hasn't the means or the skills to go to courts, that isn't organized, that lacks "standing." The latter – that legal artifact which has kept legitimate issues from having their day in court – has been liberalized in recent years, most notably in the *Scenic Hudson* case. There a federal circuit court found a public right to require that the Federal Power Commissioner take the scenic, historic and recreational values into account before licensing a power plant which may jeopardize those values.

The Center for Law and Social Policy, a one-year-old public interest law firm in Washington, which recently received $375,000 from the Ford Foundation, is an example of the kind of group the IRS seems to be shooting at. The Center successfully has restrained the Secretary of Agriculture from making certain decisions on the use of DDT, enjoined the construction of the huge Trans-Alaskan pipeline on the grounds of its possible adverse effect on the ecology of Alaska, and compelled the National Highway Safety Bureau to reopen its investigation into the possible recall of 150,000 GM trucks. Achievements such as these led Russell Train, chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, to write IRS Commissioner Randolph Thrower that "litigation brought by private groups which must rely on contributions for their support . . . has strengthened and accelerated the process of enforcement of antipollution laws."

The October 9 IRS announcement was not its first stab at "activists" working for the public interest. In February it ruled that while the National Resources Defense Council, a New York organization, could have tax exemption for its "educational" activity, any proposed litigation would have to be submitted to IRS for review and approval. In June the group did submit a plan to sue some Kentucky strip miners; it has not yet been approved by IRS. The censorial implications are staggering.

In defense of the IRS, Thrower asks whether it is fair to support only one of the two sides in a legal contest by means of a favorable tax ruling. He is well aware, however, that commercial firms deduct litigation costs as "ordinary and necessary business expenses." Mr. Thrower claims further that these new legal groups do not represent "traditionally recognized objects of charity," unlike the ACLU or NAACP. True enough. But if a person with dilapidated housing can be represented tax-free, why not someone bedevilled by fouled air and water? Each is socially disadvantaged; neither can battle the propertied on his own. If consumer and environmental cases are not "traditional," it is largely because of the success courts and corporate counsel have had in excluding them from the judicial forum – an exclusion which is now used to justify continued exclusion. Moreover, if Lena Horne is denied her right of free speech or denied access to an apartment, the ACLU and Legal Defense Fund of NAACP would not be constrained from leaping to her defense, although she is neither poor nor underprivileged. These groups and even the Office of Economic Opportunity (20 percent privately funded) are increasingly taking on consumer cases. Any effort to tar the "new" groups without blackening the old ones will be difficult.

And if IRS can't determine which group is representing the public interest when competing groups claim that honor, the answer is: don't worry. Let the adversarial legal system decide where the public interest lies. But if one side lacks an advocate, *then* there would be determination by default against whichever side lacks legal resource.

Three Washington lawyers – Mitchell Rogovin and Louis Oberdorfer, former heads of the Tax Division at the Department of Justice, and Mortimer Caplin, former IRS Commissioner – met privately with Thrower to dissuade him from pressing the tax-exempt threat further. The importance of the meeting was emphasized by Rogovin: "It is virtually impossible to challenge these rulings successfully, since the IRS could financially dry out these groups before they ever got to a courtroom." Thrower refused to talk about the substantive issue, noting that IRS is merely studying the problem – one created by his own announcement.

It was President Nixon who last February 10 urged "greater citizen involvement" in the "fight against pollution," since the problem was "too big to be done by government alone." Yet because of the 1969 tax reform bill, exempt organizations must tread very warily in the area of consumers' rights (or even civil rights!); and now, because of the IRS action, they may not be able to litigate. What remains for the fleet of young law students and lawyers who are detaching themselves from the big law-firm thralldom? Without public interest law firms, and with establishment lawyers disinterested or disqualified by conflict-of-interest rules, who is left to bring corporate violators to public accountability? Nobody. The silent majority will stay silent – because it's been shut up, and out.

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It Doesn't Come Cheap

Family Planning and the Poor

by Warren M. Hern

In the September 19th *New Republic*, TRB quoted some figures from Joseph Kershaw's new book, *Government Against Poverty*, which were misleading and which touch on one of the most controversial issues in social science and government. The figures quoted were estimates of the total current need for and projected costs of providing family planning services for the poor. Mr. Kershaw states that it would cost about $20 per woman per year for family planning advice and devices, or about $100 million dollars per year for five million women in the childbearing age range. The cost figures are based on earlier projections which now appear to be seriously underestimated.

In addition, TRB quotes Mr. Kershaw as saying that about 450,000 children born each year are unwanted at the time of conception. The portion quoted by TRB does not make it clear whether this figure is for the poor or for the nation, although a subsequent passage not cited indicates that the number refers only to the poor.

The number of unwanted births and the number of women needing subsidized family planning services has been a matter of hot debate in the scientific community for years. In 1969, demographer Charles Westoff estimated that there were from 800,000 to over one million unwanted births in the United States, half of which were experienced by the poor and near-poor. This is consistent with earlier estimates by Arthur Campbell, which are summarized in articles published in the *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (May 1968) and *Family Planning Perspectives* (October 1969).

The September 18, 1970 issue of *Science* carried an article by Larry Bumpass and Charles Westoff which presents evidence that the previously accepted estimates of the proportion of unwanted births derived from the 1965 National Fertility Survey are too low. The authors have selected a subsample from the NFS, which covered a probability sample of 5600 married women, and analyzed the results by income, education, and poverty classification. They conclude that there is an inverse relationship between these factors and the percentage of unwanted births; the poor and near-poor experience unwanted fertility twice as much as other groups with more education and income. Their analysis was based on a sample of married women living with their husbands, and therefore births to women not living with their husbands and most illegitimate births are not represented. Also, the incidence and birth-order distribution of unwanted births were assumed to be the same for such births as for births reported by wives now living with their husbands. This would result in further underestimation.

The results of the Bumpass and Westoff analysis strongly suggest that the number of births not wanted by one or both parents is considerably higher than previous estimates, particularly among the poor, although it is difficult to say with certainty how much this is.

The effects of unwantedness on the children, however, regardless of socioeconomic class, are becoming more and more clear. This tragic picture is described vividly in *The Battered Child* (University of Chicago Press, 1969), and by Mildred Beck in the August 1970 issue of *Seminars in Psychiatry*.

In addition to the large number of unwanted births which occur, one-fourth to one-fifth of all pregnant American women each year seek an abortion rather than continue with an unwanted pregnancy. An estimated one million abortions are performed each year in the US, and until 1969, only about 10,000 were performed legally. Many of the rest were probably performed by competent physicians, but an unknown though certainly large number were performed under the worst possible hygienic conditions by persons who were either unskilled or unscrupulous or both. Most of the abortions falling into this category were experienced by the poor because they lacked the necessary $500-$1000 for a safe, "legal" abortion obtained with relative ease by the more affluent.

Anyone who has worked in the emergency room of a city hospital can also tell you of the women who have mutilated themselves with knitting needles and coathangers out of desperation. These women, usually mothers of several children, enter the hospital in a

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critically ill condition with fever, massive infection, hemorrhage, and multiple complications. If they survive, their hospital stays are often long, expensive, and disruptive of their family lives. However, according to estimates, from 800 to 5000 of these women die each year.

Those who speak of "genocide" should attend the autopsies of those who die. Their deaths are thought to account for over half of all maternal mortality (deaths directly related to pregnancy and childbirth) in the United States. A disproportionate number of the women who die are Puerto Rican, black, Mexican-American, or members of some disadvantaged group.

Women who die from unsafe clandestine abortions would not have died if they had had access to safe, competently performed abortions, or better yet, if they had been able to prevent the unwanted pregnancy. Yet millions of American women are still without adequate or reliable means of contraception. The exact number is impossible to ascertain with existing data, but since 1966, the most reliable estimates have ranged from 4.6 to 5.3 million women in need of subsidized family planning services.

Basically, two methods have been used to make these estimates, and they are quite similar in substance. Campbell's estimate of 4.6 million women "in need" was prepared in 1967 as part of a planning document for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The other well-known method is Dryfoos-Polgar-Varky (DPV) formula developed at the Planned Parenthood/World Population's Center for Family Planning Program Development in New York.

Both methods are based on the Social Security Administration definition of poverty as being an annual income of $3000-3200 or less for a nonfarm family of four, recognizing a) rural-urban differences, b) rising income levels and inflation from the time of the 1960 census results to the time of the surveys in 1967-68, and c) the inclusion of elderly retired persons who were below the poverty line but obviously no longer in the reproductive ages.

Using other survey information, the estimated numbers of women who are sterile, pregnant, or seeking a desired pregnancy are subtracted from the number of women in the childbearing age range who are below the "poverty line." Both methods assume a desired family size of three children, another figure established through repeated previous surveys.

In 1968, OEO sponsored a county-by-county study by the Center for Family Planning Program Development to determine the number of poor women being provided with subsidized family planning services. The Center found that 5.3 million women were "in need," according to the definitions used, and of these, some 773,000 were being provided with services. The providers of services ranged from local health departments, Planned Parenthood clinics, OEO Community Action Agencies, city hospitals, Children's Bureau services, university medical centers, to OEO Neighborhood Health Centers.

The OEO 1968 study is not entirely accurate in some ways, but the principal purpose is to provide a rough estimate of the level of services needed. The study contains the following possible sources of inaccuracy:

- about 10 percent of the women receiving services under OEO auspices are being seen by private physicians, especially in rural areas, and this mode of service delivery is not included in the study;
- not all the women categorized as being "in need" will actually use the services if they are provided because of religious beliefs and other cultural traditions;
- many couples are already using nonmedical types of contraception such as condoms and foam, although they may be doing so with low effectiveness: education programs might help them use their preferred methods more effectively;
- the study is based on revised 1960 census data figures, whereas there has been an overall increase in population since then;
- there is a large group of women who are classified as being above the "poverty line" who do not or cannot afford to use preventive services such as family planning due to the expense, and are therefore in need of subsidized medical care: inclusion of this group would perhaps double the number "in need";
- the study excludes teenagers below the age of 18, even though many in this group are sexually active to some degree;
- there is an exclusion of some areas such as Puerto Rico where there are large numbers of fertile, low-income women who want and need family planning services;
- there is no allowance for subfecundity, or reduced reproductive capacity, even though subfecund women are at some risk and still need effective contraception; and
- some women counted in the study as currently being provided with services have been attending more than one clinic and therefore were counted twice or more.

The issues, however, are not how many unwanted children there are or how many women there are who need subsidized services. The issues are: what kind of care will each one of those women get and how much will it cost? Unfortunately, the $20 mentioned by Mr. Kershaw will not buy much in the way of "advice and devices." The contraceptive materials themselves are quite inexpensive, but making these available in the context of high quality medical care and appropriate social services is a rather more costly enterprise. There is considerably more involved in the provision of fam-

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ily planning services than passing out pills or inserting intrauterine devices.

This is particularly true in the case of oral contraceptives. Women requesting this form of contraception must be carefully screened for any medical history or physical findings which would make "the pill" undesirable or dangerous for them. Those who are provided with oral contraceptives or an intrauterine device (IUD) must be carefully followed for evidence of untoward reactions, and the patient must be instructed to watch for the symptoms of these reactions.

Cost consciousness is considered important in the development of OEO family planning programs, but the first consideration has been and must continue to be a high standard of quality in both the clinical and social services which are provided. Emphasis is given to personal attention and individualized care for each patient.

Every patient, for example, receives a careful pelvic examination and Papanicolau test for the detection of cancer of the cervix. It is also expected that she receive a thorough breast exam for masses or tumors as well as a general physical exam. Depending on the patient and the type of contraception she has chosen, she is seen at regularly scheduled intervals for repeat examination and follow-up care as needed. Clinic aides and outreach workers make home visits to patients who repeatedly miss appointments, often finding that a little assistance in baby-sitting or travel reimbursement makes the difference.

No subject is more sensitive among health needs than that of reproduction and contraception, and there is no substitute for one-to-one personal contact. This means that outreach and education, while important components of good community health care in general, are particularly important in family planning programs. Outreach and community education workers are recruited from among the poor themselves. They are people who know the community, speak its language, and move with confidence and rapport among its members. The outreach workers are the most important link in letting people know what services are available and how they can be used.

Ignorance of basic reproductive and contraceptive facts knows no class or ethnic boundary, and the poor are penalized even more than others by their lack of information about these matters. Education at the individual and group level takes on great significance, particularly when a woman chooses a coitus-dependent method of contraception such as rhythm or the diaphragm. She should understand at least some elementary ideas about reproductive physiology if she is to use these methods with any success.

High quality family planning services also require the availability of infertility counseling and referral for couples who are unable to have children, referral for comprehensive health care, day-care and baby-sitting services, and many other activities which may be broadly defined as social services.

In addition to these basic expenses for patient care, there are other essential costs, which include staff training, especially for the poor themselves, who may then work their way up from paraprofessional jobs such as clinic aides to supervisors and clinic directors.

With all these components, OEO family planning program costs are thought to be currently running from $40 to $100 per active patient per year, with most projects in the $60-80 range. A comprehensive program management survey in progress at this time indicates that many new programs may be well over $100 per patient per year initially, but these figures are tentative.

The variation is the result of important differences in the range of services provided, the local salary scales for clinic personnel, location, administrative arrangements, and the extent of outreach and educational programs. Rural programs, for example, entail far more in transportation expenses and time spent per patient contact and visit than similar urban programs. Women who are in an urban hospital recuperating from childbirth may be contacted and offered contraceptive care during the immediate post-partum period at a much lower cost than women living in the remote districts of Appalachia.

In OEO's National Five Year Plan for Family Planning, for example, the per patient cost per year for a hospital post-partum program is estimated at a little over $40. Private physician programs, which will be very important in providing services in rural areas with few clinics or public health facilities, are pegged at $80 per patient per year. Clinics operated by county health departments, OEO Community Action Agencies, and Planned Parenthood services fall somewhere in between at about $60. A conservative median estimate of $60 per patient per year, however, does not allow for regional and central administrative costs for such federally-sponsored programs as OEO and HEW, nor does it include the costs of research and evaluation.

The Five Year Plan, which is an attempt to sort out and project the various costs of clinical services, supplies, manpower training, administration, and other items such as research and evaluation, estimates that $1.3 billion will be needed over that period to develop programs for providing those five million women with family planning services. This assumes a combination of government and private efforts.

The final costs, when all is accounted for, will probably be somewhere in the neighborhood of $100 per patient per year, not $20, as Mr. Kershaw tells us. The difference between $20 and $100, in this case, is the difference between dispensing "advice and devices" to five million women and providing high quality family services for each woman who wants and needs them.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

This Man Must Die

(Allied Artists)

Burn!

(United Artists)

WUSA

(Paramount)

How pleasant to go to a film one liked seven years ago and find that it's now even a bit better. Claude Chabrol's *Landru* which I reviewed here April 27, 1963 and saw again recently, is one of the truly fine pictures of its decade, disgracefully neglected. Chabrol's version of the Bluebeard story (script by Françoise Sagan) was attacked for its mixture of tones and its stylized settings. But the tonal mixture is carefully selected to represent the range from slapstick to tragedy inherent in this story, and the stylization is an abstraction to help the mythopoeic process – Landru as legend. Above all, Charles Denner's performance of the killer-sage presses us against the backs of our chairs with a hand of iron.

How pleasant to like a new Chabrol film. And what a change! *Les Biches* and *La Femme Infidele* and *Le Boucher* (the last seen at the New York Film Festival) all were silken exercises in aggrandisement, failed attempts to make much of little by doing it dexterously. But, in *This Man Must Die*, the material justifies the skills – heightens them, in fact. The film has real force and feeling.

As usual, Chabrol is working with murder, which is his madeleine (of stimulus, not memory). As usual, the cinematographer is Jean Rabier, whose subtlety, especially in color, has increased since *Landru*. Again the screenplay is by Paul Gegauff – from a novel by Nicholas Blake (pseudonym of C. Day Lewis, the British Poet Laureate). And again Chabrol relies on plot contrivances to break open shells and reveal character. This time it works.

A small boy is killed by a hit-and-run driver in a Breton village. (We see that there is also a blonde in the car beside the male driver.) The father of the boy is a widower, a well-to-do author of children's books. In a freezingly quiet way, he swears – to himself – to find the murderer and kill him. He learns the identity of the blonde and makes her his mistress; then she leads him, unwittingly, to the man he is seeking, her brother-in-law. The avenger finds out that the intended victim is a wretch whom several other people would also like to kill. The drama is played out in cool tensions and psychological strokes.

The two tricky points in the plot are the coincidence through which the avenger gets his first real clue and the patness of the killer's rotten character. The way Gegauff and Chabrol have handled these delicate spots is to confront them and italicize them. Coincidences and "caricatures of evil" occur in life, they say, so why not here? And their unabashedness succeeds.

Chabrol is helped greatly by his two leading actors – and doubtless has helped them. As the stricken father, Michel Duchaussoy is immediately credible, genuinely threatening. What might have been a lurid tale of vengeance is taut because of this furiously reticent performance. Caroline Cellier, the blonde, is quietly fine. She has two especially telling moments: when she confesses to her lover that she once slept with her brother-in-law and is disgusted by the memory; and when her lover reveals that he is the father of the dead child. Miss Cellier has imagined these moments as freshly and has realized them as affectingly as, say, Bibi Andersson might have done.

The essence of Chabrol's camerawork and editing here is austerity, *matching* what he does precisely to what is needed. The cutting is parsimonious and exactly right, as in the sequence on the sailboat with Duchaussoy and his victim. The scene at the restaurant table when the camera pans slowly from Duchaussoy to Miss Cellier's face as he discloses his true identity is a perfect fusion of good script, truthful acting, and crystallizing camerawork.

Chabrol drops a neat hint of how the hero became a widower – just a suggestion of his wife's illness in some home movies he reruns. There are some display effects – the intercutting of the headwaiter carving the duck in the restaurant scene mentioned above, the burning of a cigarette in an ash tray while Duchaussoy talks to the victim's abused son – but they serve as functional and symbolic stitching.

The New Wave, throughout its twelve-year existence, has made a lot of films from thriller novels. Most of the time this is an empty anti-literary, pro-cinema device that ends in various bankruptcies. But sometimes, when all the components are right, as they are here, the film really takes us back to the primordial sources of which the thriller novel is only a saran-wrapped convention. In its small-scale way *This Man Must Die* is about modern possibilities of total evil and total love and total despair. We believe that the death of his son has drained this father's life of meaning, as it might have done to an ancient king. Essentially this is a film of classic gestures in trousers and minis and Mustangs, and it is gripping.

Gillo Pontecorvo's last previous film, *The Battle of Algiers*, has become a contemporary myth. In the current trial of thirteen Black Panthers in New York, for instance, the prosecution contends that the Panthers used the film to convince their recruits to kill policemen.

No such importance (however you view it) is likely to attach to Pontecorvo's new film *Burn!*, although it was clearly bucking to be another revolutionary hymn. It was carelessly made and has evidently been shoved and jostled in its final editing. The result is that its spine is broken in several places, and it can only wobble lamely toward a revolutionary stance.

It takes place on a fictitious island off the South American coast, a Portuguese possession. A British naval officer arrives in 1830 to help the black slaves revolt against their oppressive government, which they do. Then when the new government cooperates with a British sugar company to exploit the workers differently, the blacks revolt again, and this time the same officer is brought in to quash the revolt.

The irony is substantiated in histories all around us, but the film fumbles it. The exposition and the conclusion are grindingly clumsy. The camerawork is uneasy and full of that prime symptom of unease, the zoom shot. (There are also quick visual references to two famous photographs: Robert Capa's picture of the falling Loyalist soldier in Spain, and the picture of the child in the Warsaw ghetto that Bergman quoted in *Persona*.) The script overex-

(Continued on page 32)

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Peter Caws: Stage V and Con III

The Greening of America by Charles A. Reich

(Random House; $7.95)

Total Loss Farm: A Year in the Life by Raymond Mungo

(Dutton; $5.95)

Charles Reich's new book has already been greeted with extravagant praise and deprecation; the excerpts from it that appeared in *The New Yorker* generated a lot of excitement and it has commanded editorial-page attention in the *New York Times* for days. Its importance has to be conceded, but reluctantly, since *this* book, one feels, ought not to be as important as it is and will undoubtedly be; the occasion and the subject called for a better one, but nobody wrote it, and Reich has moved into an opening provided by the recent history of this country with an analysis that will from now on have to be reckoned with.

The genuine strengths of the book are two: its history and its economics. In these areas it has an admirable directness and lucidity. Reich looks at the historical development of America – starting not with the more usual dates but with 1789, the year of the Bill of Rights – and sees in it essentially five stages. First there was a brief pre-industrial period, in which spiritually liberated men looked forward to the construction of a new political and social order under the aegis of a new Constitution. Then came a period of industrialization and the unrestricted growth of commerce, ending disastrously with the Depression. In response to this followed a period of government organization beginning with the New Deal, in which the selfish forces of industrial expansion were to be brought under regulation in the public interest. The fourth stage, at the end of which we find ourselves, is marked by a combining, in the period after World War II – and especially after the Korean war – of the commercial and governmental organizations into the Corporate State. Reich's description of the way in which these two monstrous systems, Business and Government, have merged into a monolithic power in spite of the fact that one was called into being to *balance* the other, is excellent and convincing. His account of some of the details of this process, particularly as they touch on his own profession, the law, make the situation more vivid and more horrifying than usual.

The final historical stage, whose outline, according to Reich, is just beginning to emerge, will be a new beginning, a spring, a resurrection, a *greening*. In it the American people, de-institutionalized, de-alienated, de-specialized and heroic, will take over the direction of the machine that now tyrannizes them, and turn it, finally, to human ends in a harmonious society. In order to do this they will not need to snatch power violently from some group that now wields it, because – and here again I find Reich's analysis persuasive – in spite of appearances *nobody* now wields the power. There are no super-villains, everybody from the top down is caught in the same trap. All that is required for a bloodless revolution is for people to *see* that the trap can be walked out of. And this is beginning to happen, because the Corporate State, in its mindless, headlong way, has by its recent acts – Chicago, Vietnam and the rest – stung a good proportion of the population into an awareness of its true nature.

The forerunners of this new awareness are the young. Conditioned by affluence and advertising to expect as a reality the personal freedom anticipated as an ideal by the Americans of 1789, they have at the same time been expected to acquiesce in the commandeering of their bodies and minds for an insane war, a cynical market, a moribund educational machine. The dissonance thus produced has destroyed the credibility of the system and of all the values that went with it, leaving a whole generation free to find its own values, its own style, its own forms of political and social action. In many cases the rejection of the system involves the simple refusal of what it offers – marginally useful consumer goods, status, a form of impersonal security, artificial entertainment – in favor of simpler forms of life and community; in others it involves more direct challenges to regulations seen as dehumanizing. Often the overt disillusionment of the young is learned from or reinforced by the covert disillusionment of their parents or by the character of their parents' lives.

Reich is particularly good on the economics of the affluent society. This is not a judgment that economists would necessarily share, but the way in which he argues to a direct relation between the poverty of essential goods in some parts of society and of essential services in all parts, on the one hand, and the fantastic and artificially stimulated extravagance of private consumption on the other, makes immediate sense. (Not that he forgets military expenditure, but that is only one of the symptoms.) What economists might be inclined to criticize is his failure to envisage what the economic consequences of any change in consumer behavior, on the scale he contemplates, would be. He seems sometimes to offer not only a bloodless but a painless revolution: there will to be sure be more violence of the kind that has become familiar, but that will only be while the new awareness is in the process of spreading through the social fabric; when that is done the old institutions may very well remain, but informed by a new humanity. This optimism seems naively unconcerned with the darker side of economics and politics.

Still, apart from some weaknesses on the side of prophecy, most of what I have dealt with so far is fairly plausible; none of it is terribly new, but it is generally well if somewhat long-windedly put, and if that were all I would welcome the book as a combination of accurate diagnosis and hopeful speculation. But it is not all, nor is it by any means the most obvious feature of Reich's work. His historical and economic sensitivity is accompanied, unfortunately, by an extraordinarily simple-minded psychology, and

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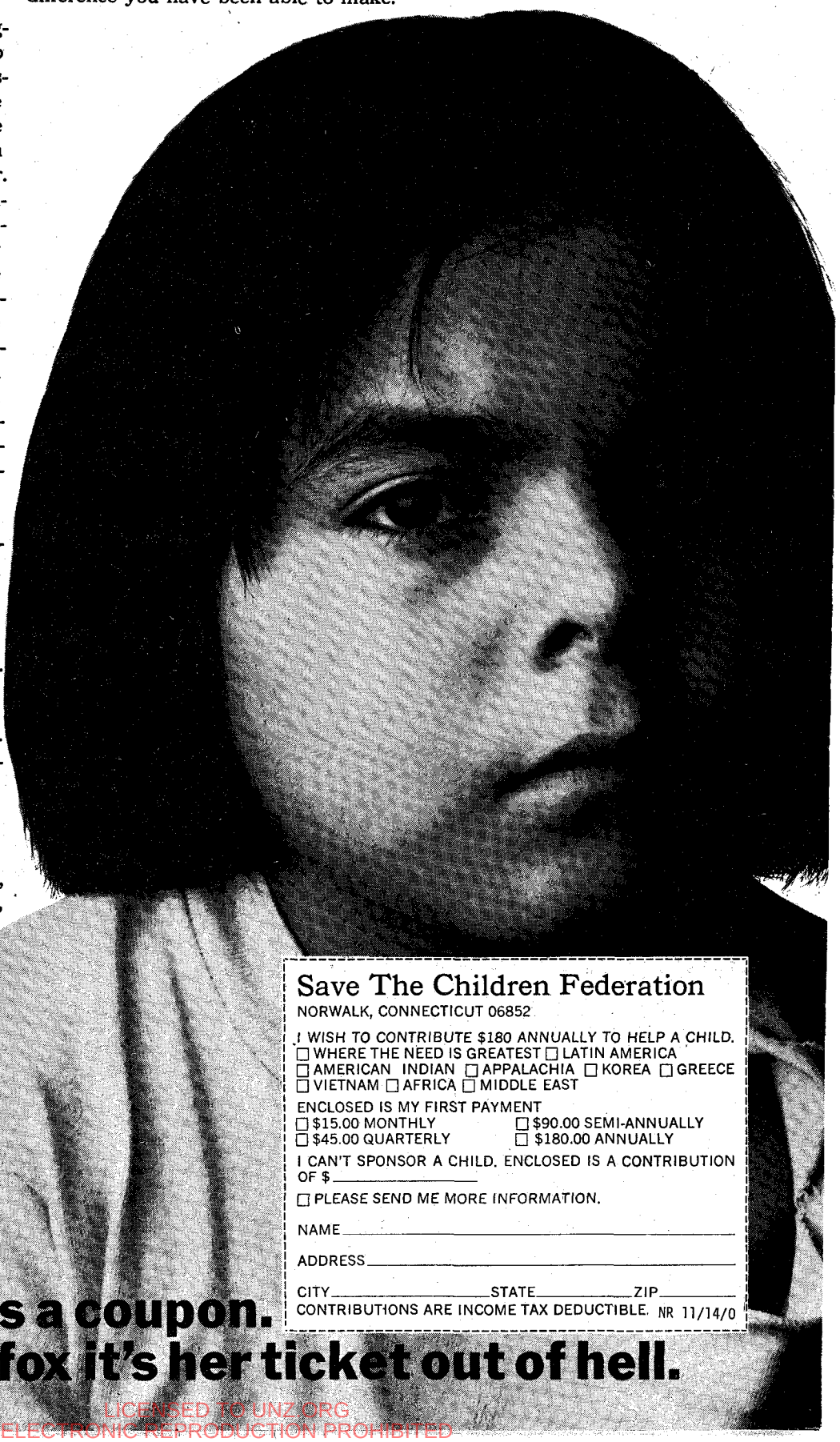

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the notoriety of the book rests on this. With the five historical stages go three psychological ones, marked by three forms of Consciousness. Reich calls them Consciousnesses I, II, and III.

Consciousness I is American Gothic, dour hard work, thrift, rugged individualim, selfishness. Consciousness II is the grey flannel suit, Organization Man, the Executive Suite, loss of self to the System in public life, uptightness – and again selfishness – in private. Consciousness III is authenticity, love, bell-bottom trousers, long hair, drugs, in short the Youth Culture. (It also includes unhomogenized peanut butter; Reich, for some reason, has a deep fixation on peanut butter.) Now literally *hundreds* of writers, as the cliches suggest, have recognized these varieties; my favorite example of the first is A. G. Macdonnell's archetypal American, "who was so individualistic that he walked from Aroostook, Maine, to El Paso del Norte by himself, and so rugged that the tomahawks of the Piute Indians bounced off his skull and had to be sent away to have their handles straightened." That is about the level on which such generalities ought to be treated, but Reich is deadly serious and presents it all as if some remarkable new insight were involved.

The pretentious use of a quasi-technical terminology, the suggestion of hierarchy (III's, once converted, cannot "fall back to a lower level"), the incredibly patronizing tone in which Reich offers, as it were, the helping hand of youth to poor II's secretly longing for freedom but afraid to take the plunge – one thinks of shy souls being urged forward at revivals – all this, it seems to me, detracts fatally from the value of *The Greening of America*. Reich repeatedly admits, it is true, that his categories are idealized and approximate, and in the case of Consciousness III subject to rapid change with time. But the trouble goes deeper than this. I fully agree that changes in structure without changes in consciousness are meaningless. But although Reich says that "consciousness is *prior* to structure," the evidence points rather to a dialectical relation between them; there is nothing inherently unnatural, as he seems to think, in the definition of individuality in terms of its relation to other individualities (i.e. to a structure), indeed it is hard to see how else it is to be achieved once the subject seeks to go beyond his existential privacy. Even

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the commune is a structured system in this sense. And *no* general appeal to consciousness to transcend its social context has ever worked, or ever will work. This is not to disagree with Reich's view of Consciousness III, but it is to doubt the accuracy of any scenario that relies on it as an agent of change for the population at large or for the system under which it lives. In fact consciousness, even as Reich defines it, and social and political change probably have less to do with one another than he thinks.

Various levels of consciousness have always existed, and literature since the Greeks is full of the struggle to a form of awareness of self, a consciousness at every moment of what one is in that moment, of one's situation with respect to Nature and to other men as individuals and as classes, without comparative judgment, without recourse to generalities, without being enslaved by one's own condition. More people are capable of achieving this than have in fact done so, and its systematic inhibition is one of the criminal features of the system; but it has never been general, and people who don't or can't make it are by Reich's own criteria still uniquely valuable as human beings. This includes the lamentable I's and II's, and it also includes the President, the Vice President, and the Attorney General. (To do Reich justice he would no doubt admit this.) But as to change, I think we have to look elsewhere than to the people at large, and work on just such improbable consciousnesses as these. "Let no one, my friends," says the Athenian Stranger in Plato's *Laws*, "persuade us that there is any quicker and easier way in which states change their laws than when the rulers lead"; the route is from the perceptive minority to those in power, and only afterward to the people.

But the defense of that view needs a lot more space than I have here. The rest of it must go to Raymond Mungo, whose book, after the high theoretical tone of Reich's, is literally down-to-earth. Mungo is no analyst, he *is* what he talks about, a full-fledged III and in spite of his comparative infancy way out ahead of Reich on the road to freedom. He has been through the Movement, confrontation and all, and lacking Reich's optimism about the coming revolution has split, along with friends, to live directly with the land, "trying to be alive in the mother country with

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In this scathing and comprehensive critique, the leading spokesmen of the radical Caucus for a New Political Science call for an end to political science as it exists today: its conservatism, its government and business links, its near total "irrelevance."

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neither ecological nor political distortion attached." His book follows the seasons, fall 1969 to fall 1970; it starts with "another week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers" (all polluted), goes on with an epic cross-country drive, and settles down on the Vermont farm of the title for the rest of the year. While Reich's seasons (the analogy is too striking to be missed) begin and end with spring, Mungo's cycle is more somber; it is "Total Loss" – of self, which Reich in another context doesn't like – against "Greening": a difference of temperament, but perhaps a difference of maturity.

Mungo's use of the language is imaginative, clean, sometimes beautiful while he is on the move, turgid and sentimental when he is stationary. What this says about him I'm not sure. But if you want to meet Reich's new man in the flesh, read Mungo; having done so, you will not need to read Reich. Mungo puts forward without any academic varnish the facts about the new life of the young, The Life; he is by turns endearing, childish, startlingly observant, wise, objectionable. I liked him as I read his book, but I didn't much want to be him. He, more generous and tolerant than Reich, doesn't particularly care whether people change or not; he has his patronizing moments, offering to help us, but his universe has room in it for all sorts, even Mets fans.

The image that haunts me is of Mungo eating tomatoes: "we've luckily thought to bring a saltshaker so we can pick them and sprinkle them and eat them whole, allowing the juices to smear our faces and trickle down into our T-shirts and all the way down to our crotches." Well, each to his taste, or as Rabelais put it, "do what you will." That is the sentiment, on reflection, that I missed most in Reich: he wants to impose conditions, to improve people despite themselves. As I read his characterizations of the benighted state of the I's and the II's, and how awful it must be to be one, I kept thinking, How does he know? Just look at their faces, he retorts, in the subway, at the airport. But people's faces in subways and airports may tell us less about people than about subways and airports; Reich's own face, under such conditions, might look less radiant than it does on the back of his book. It may therefore be our obligation to work, as we have the opportunity, to change the system under which the people live, but it is none of our business to change *them*, and above all we have no right to condescend or pity.

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Louis Coxe: Poets as Crusaders

Forty Poems Touching upon Recent History edited by Robert Bly

(Beacon Press; $5.95)

"Touching?" Well, maybe. But mostly trying to express by avoidance or so it seems. I find nearly all the poems in this book singularly unsatisfying as art and as propaganda or whatever the tenor is meant to be. There are of course exceptions, such as Allen Ginsberg's "America" which is surely his best poem, a nice Roethke, some fine bombast from Ruben Darío (dull translation though), and scraps here and there. Famous and near-famous names appear but under poems that do them no especial credit. By and large, the techniques and poetic styles represented are mod-surreal (Spanish) and mod-Poundian (US). Juxtaposition is the trick: you know, two apparently disparate images and out of that very canny collocation, wow! that old tertium quid. One gets the feeling that just about all these poems are willed, are obligatory responses to political indignations, without originality, surprise or even anger. What comes through from most of them is an impression of weakness, flaccidity, exhaustion. They seem to lack the fire of what is supposed to be their conviction.

My guess is that Mr. Bly has chosen these poems for that very reason: they express, for him, the disaster that is the US of A today, the shame of Indo-China, the rape of the landscape and so on. In the preface, Mr. Bly talks a good bit about "inwardness" and how poets must go inward if they are to write good political verse: "It's clear I think that some sort of husk has grown around that [American] psyche . . . the poet's main job is to penetrate that husk . . . and since that psyche is inside *him* too, the writing of political poetry is like the writing of personal poetry, a sudden drive by the poet inward."

I confess to bewilderment. What can this mean? I should have thought that any good poem was in part at least an expression of how the poet felt about what he was writing about. A sudden drive inward through that husk and into that psyche looks like quite a program – where the action is; but on inspection it looks more like old-fashioned romanticism gone a little weak in the head. Mr. Bly's rhetoric embarrasses me; I can't really believe he means what he is saying, but then I guess he must: "America is still young herself,

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and she may become something magnificent and shining, or she may turn, as Rome did, into a black dinosaur. . . ." And his way of characterizing historical periods strikes me as remarkable: "the new critical influence in poetry began to dim in the middle 1950s just at the time America's fantastic capacity for aggression and self-delusion began to be palpable like rising water to the beach walker. William Carlos Williams' refusal to ignore political lies was passed on to Allen Ginsberg . . . Rexroth, McGrath and Ignatow continued to write well . . ." Everybody else of course continued to write badly, not having the benefit of bardic political inward drives.

I really shouldn't do this – it's too easy. Mr. Bly makes himself too vulnerable. And he is a real poet when he goes about his business. Perhaps – and only the most tentative perhaps – an anthology of this kind might work but it needs a lot more hate, guts, spirit and talent. Bly seems to be saying the hell with talent, genius, on the part of the poets included. The last line of an otherwise not particularly exciting Lowell poem comes close to what we need here, the simple phrase: "of the unforgivable landscape." Yet even this lacks that magnificence Lowell can sometimes get. None of the other contemporary poets in this anthology *attempts* much, with the exception of Thomas McGrath – and of course Neruda in his surreal fashion.

OK opinions, righteous indignation, the bumper-stickers of the poetry-class, will save neither souls nor bodies. Poetry, as Auden long ago observed, makes nothing happen. When we try to make poetry happen we write and solicit propaganda and there is no good propaganda. Any reasonable person can understand Mr. Bly's difficulty – wanting to DO something, wanting to make poetry matter in these desperate days. I feel like a father whose son has just tried to help by making a mess. And I know that I overstate the case. Yet what can a poet do more than say, with Yeats, "He has had enough of meddling who can please/ A young girl in the indolence of her youth/ Or an old man upon a winter's night."

Notes on Contributors

Professor of philosophy Peter Caws *teaches at Hunter College.* Louis Coxe *is a professor of English at Bowdoin College.* Theodore Solotaroff *is editor of the* New American Review.

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Theodore Solotaroff: Against the Temporal Vanities

The Rape of Tamar by Dan Jacobson

(Macmillan; $5.95)

The Rape of Tamar was published two months ago. I have seen little notice of it and nothing that indicates that it is a brilliant (sorry for that word, but it's the right one) retelling of the Biblical story as well as an important text for our times, addressed to that blindered condition most of us share called present-mindedness. In England, where the taste for fine narrative prose and the imagination of history both still live, *The Rape of Tamar* has had an excellent press. Here, its clarity and poise and beautifully paced intensity merely make it "literature"; the recipe for the fashionable novel these days seems to be to shake your head well and pour. And as for a novel about life three thousand years ago, when even World War II, except for the nuclear weaponry, has a kind of prehistoric status in many minds, well, who needs it? Rape, incest, fratricide . . . nothing new there. But before *The Rape of Tamar* falls completely through the coarse meshes of the fall book season, a few comments should be made.

The vanishing sense of the past at which Jacobson's book is aimed is due, as we all know, to the great dizzying changes that surround us. But it is also due to a certain vanity, as his narrator points out, that we, like the Jews of King David's reign, feel ourselves to be living in "the very time of times." We are like a man whom some sudden, dramatic love affair has lifted out of his life and into a realm of new, pressing possibilities. It is easy for him to feel that his past has all along been making toward just this state of being at its secret meaning and consummation, while, at the same time, his relation to his former life becomes tenuous and his attitude toward it somewhat scornful: all that drudgery, waste, inhibition, error, unawareness that no longer applies, that is now to be transcended. So with our sense of history: in a time of times, it is easy to flatter ourselves, particularly if we are young with our "difference from the miserable, weightless rabble who crowd the spaceless chambers and corridors of the dead." Further: though the man of new possibilities isn't much interested in his memories, that doesn't mean that his memories aren't interested in him – as he is likely to find out fairly soon. So with the lived experience, the collective memories of the human past: note, for example, how those of 1950 have begun to be interested in the American situation of 1970. The purpose and strength of Jacobson's novel is in reconstituting and pointing a few ancient memories, of making the shadow of some events three thousand years ago and of the man who arranged them and those who suffered them fall upon the present.

A second and related reason for our present-mindedness is that history provides models of experience in which the principles of continuity, coherence, cause and effect, contingency, complexity, and necessity bulk large and limit the scope and force of the individual will. Meanwhile, word comes back from the frontiers of physics, philosophy, the arts that our metaphysical underpinnings are made up of chance, randomness, senselessness, etc. This "set," with all of its social and psychological ramifications, flatters the sojourner of being whose "trips" are more real and significant than his abidances. Further, what interest is there in history, if the present itself is no more than what Hegel calls "the negativity of all singleness and differences"?

The Rape of Tamar is also aimed against this state of mind. The tale Jacobson inherited from The Second Book of Samuel is unusually specific, sophisticated, and fateful: Amnon's revulsion after he has raped his sister, "so that the hatred wherewith he hated her was greater than the love wherewith he had loved her"; Tamar's freighted response – "this evil in sending me away is greater than the other that thou didst unto me"; her decision to make her humiliation public rather than conceal the act and prevent her ruin, and to go to her brother, Absalom, rather than to her father, King David; also Absalom's behavior toward Amnon – speaking "unto his brother neither good nor bad" – for two years until the time was ripe to kill him. At the beginning and end of the tale is the "subtile" Yonadab, who panders to Amnon's lust – Why art thou, being a king's son, lean from day to day?" – who devises the stratagem that brings Tamar into Amnon's clutches, and, who, after the murder of Amnon, far away from the palace, somehow knows and tells David that only Amnon has been killed by Absalom and not the other princes as has been reported. In taking up the narrative, Jacobson artfully fills in the psychology and relationships of the five main figures and the relevant social ground and draws the strands of motive, act, and consequence into a binding web of paradox and necessity, the force of circumstances, the authority of *what has happened*, its foreclosure of other possibilities and of choice itself, inexorably surrounding and fixing the participants, from one event to the next. At the same time, David, his three children, and their betrayer are

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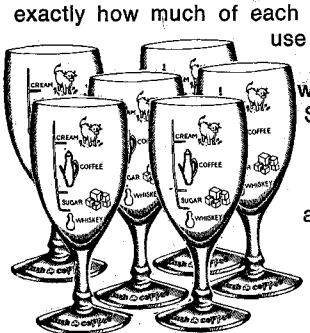

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powerfully drawn to stand as Dr. Johnson's just representatives of general nature, as modern as they are ancient, and the narrative is embedded in a commentary, addressed directly to the contemporary reader and intended to make sure that no point of recognition will be spared him.

The narrator/commentator is Yonadab, bound for all time to the story of his treachery and to "its one implacably unvarying routine." Yonadab speaks to us in character: sedulously deferential on the surface, all remorseless purpose beneath, and armed with a penetrating intelligence of men and their affairs. His cynicism makes him an outsider in his world, ruled by a credulity that begins with David, whose power stems from his conviction that the Lord is his shepherd. But Yonadab's inability to "believe in the worth or even the veracity of anything" puts him quite in touch with our world, not only with our fabled skepticism but with our own forms of conformity and credulity. The last thing he will flatter is our sense of superiority, of enlightenment, of moral cool. His intelligence, rather than his ghostly position in time, is what enables him to shift tellingly back and forth across the gap of three thousand years, which as he reminds us is but 120 generations, and he finds plenty of connections to suggest along the continuum of human typology and of the "disproportion, strain, irresolution" of life.

David is portrayed as the aging king and empire maker, trying to conserve his authority, preaching law and order and cooperation to the young princes who yearn to take the great power he has created in the state into their own hands and put it to better uses. Absalom is ambitious, progressive, the prince of the people, already planning his rebellion, his reign of justice, which will commence with the murder of Amnon and terrorization of his brothers. There is Amnon, lazy and fretful, whose passion for his sister becomes "the works": the great, liberating leap into the unknown and the forbidden, the moment at the very source of space and time, the act of "filth and impiety for the sake of a freer, more godlike piety," etc. Behind Amnon's adventure in blowing his mind is the Canaanite legend of Baal and Anat, the incestuous, rebellious children of the august God, El; ahead of Amnon and Absalom is what Yonadab knows . . . unto the present. "The same story again!" he blurts out in disgust. "Always the same damn story – the same incitements, opportunities, and compulsions."

But the dark, resonating story Yonadab tells is presented as the outcropping of character rather than as a scheme to force analogies. He does not wish to be forgiven, for like his victims, he was what he had to be, and he is as shameless in telling the truth as he was in his treacheries, including that of instructing Absalom as he did Amnon. As he says, the real and the interesting are one and the same, and his saturnine morals are fashioned at every point from the manifold but contingent stuff of experience.

Take the rape itself. There is Amnon and beneath him Tamar, finally wrestled and half-smothered into submission:

> . . . at the fork of his body he has a pendule, a thick bud that must grow, rise, distend, reach and remain stiffly reaching, unable to grasp, fitted at an angle to him yet compelling him to fit himself around it, guiding him who has to guide it, a weapon that disables its wielder. . . .

And on through the night:

> Many times: driven still to reach a point that he seeks within her only because it is beyond his uttermost touch. Still beyond. Just beyond. Always beyond.

Notable

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At the beginning of his writing career Joseph Wood Krutch was an earnest student, like Robert Frost's oven bird, of what to do with a diminished thing. The diminished thing was civilization, dwindling before the assaults of chaps like Copernicus. Krutch was sorry that man's comfortable illusions – his myths and his arts – had to go, but facts were facts.

As he grew older Krutch became more attracted to the comfortable illusions, especially ancient ones. He was a defender of the Humanities against a variety of forms of modernism; he disliked TV, highbrow literary critics, violence and sex in fiction and the movies, social science and the decline of moral values. He was particularly annoyed at those who, like himself in the twenties, kept knocking man's comfortable illusions. "The body of humanistic knowledge," he said, "is neither wholly consistent with itself, much less is it demonstrably true in any objective sense. But it is, nevertheless, a body of imperfect knowledge indispensable to civilization."

Mr. Krutch died in May of this year, shortly after selecting and editing the forty years' worth of his writings included here. The early, radical, anti-humanist Krutch unfortunately makes sharper, more persuasive reading than the later humanist, but the latter was a good and worthy man.

On Culture and Literature by Marvin Mudrick

(Horizon Press; $7.50)

Marvin Mudrick is a Brahmin among critics, and therefore a critic Joseph Wood Krutch would have disliked. He is haughty, heavily ironic and supremely sure of his opinions, many of which are exotic (he is quick to devalue Orwell, for example, and to announce that Conrad really could only write short stories); and he expends considerable energy, as a true Brahmin should, complaining about the rot that becomes popular in this country: "Mailer . . . has been very busy establishing himself as the great American writer for people who don't read"; and "the most startling fact about *Portnoy's Complaint* . . . is Roth's absence from it. . . . Roth or 'Roth' ought to wipe off the greasepaint and apologize." Yet his complaints, concocted over a period of fifteen years, are worth listening to. He is particularly good on a social study of Mexico by Oscar Lewis (in 1961) that aspired, with its tape recorder techniques, to be a literary *and* sociological triumph. On the

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fallacies of the Lewis procedure Krutch would have agreed with Mudrick – and in fact almost all literary people are apt to sympathize with Mudrick here, though fighting him elsewhere. What Oscar Lewis was fiddling with in 1961 has become almost standard sociological procedure now – so Mudrick's conclusion deserves repetition:

> As long as social scientists remain so insensitive to the shape of experience, so deaf to the medium of language, so editorially magnanimous in their political aims, and so unperturbed in the midst of all unmastered disciplines, we may yet decline to celebrate these self-proclaimed successors to the poets and novelists, who instructed us and gave us delight.

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Television

One Cheer for the Conventional

My children's TV staples include, aside from all the cops-and-robbers and spy shows and cartoons and "Lucy" and "My Favorite Martian" and "Dennis the Menace" and "Batman" and "Spiderman" and "Lil Rascals" and the "Flintstones" and baseball, football and basketball – deep breath – the staples include that dreadful, long-run war-against-the-Japs comedy "McHale's Navy." "McHale's Navy" consists entirely of repeats at the moment – and maybe it is dead – but it is on regularly at pre-suppertime and I sometimes sit with the kids and slosh martinis and watch it. I sometimes even *laugh* (a little bit).

There is also a dreadful Nazi equivalent – "Hogan's Heroes" – that is on *after* supper and makes all WWII Germans into oafish comic Neanderthals. "Hogan's Heroes" goes beyond my basest taste – I *wish* that it were dead – but "McHale's Navy" is redeemed for me by endless, not-very-comic insults and forced chauvinistic slapstick. There it is on family prime time, competing with news, guests and humanity; and I sit there not only allowing it but watching it.

A good father would turn it firmly off, as well as most of the other shows listed above. Wouldn't he?

But what do good fathers do these days, other than slosh martinis? For one thing they search around pretty hard for times and occasions when they and their progeny are comfortably, without elaborate preliminary arrangings, in one place. For another thing they ration out their Don'ts with coffee spoons, in the forlorn hope that the Don'ts that really matter will be heeded. Does "McHale's Navy" really matter? This good, wise and permissive father doesn't think so.

At least this father doesn't think "McHale's Navy" matters as much to his progeny as to him. If he can take it, they can. It is a show that seriously misrepresents the only war that was intimately a part of his life, and it misrepresents as well the Japanese, the "natives" and the whole bag of military life. When he thinks morally about "McHale's Navy" for five seconds he shudders; but the martinis keep him from thinking about it, and the kids, not knowing that war, don't have to think about it. So everybody's happy, having dismissed the show's false assumptions about war, race, country and life. By those rules it emerges as a pleasant moron-type comedy, which is just the good father's speed in the grim old pre-suppertime.

No, what strikes me as curious about "McHale's Navy," aside from my craven taste for it, is that it keeps its innocence despite its assumptions. When McHale blows up his nearly daily Jap submarine easy as pie, and his crewmates cavort and giggle and generally conduct themselves as if at a hoedown, why doesn't some crusader group complain? – because the show wears the armor of well-worn conventionality; we see it as comedy, not statement; or as melodrama, not statement. It is in that still formidable league of murder mysteries, musical comedies and old-time westerns that our revolutionaries have been too busy to light out after (yet). The revolution *has* hit "serious" poetry and fiction and stage plays and non-TV movies, with the result that "seriousness" is now pretty much monopolized by anti-poems and anti-stories, by happenings and turgidly fictionalized journalistic composites of the social scene; but it has spared commercial TV. TV has faced, so far, no more serious threat to its love affair with the lowbrow status quo than its prospective loss of cigaret ads.

My guess is that a crusader's wave will hit the TV industry, and hit it suddenly. Instead of a few generalized complaints and fuzzy hearings about violence and moronism on TV, somebody like Nader will start really tearing after particular shows and advertisements. Will the cardboard house then collapse? – *there* is a formidable aesthetic question that is also a political question. Before the Republican showing last Tuesday I would have said yes it will collapse, and I would have been willing to shed one tear for it; but now I am inclined to believe that we will have "McHale's Navy" or something much worse forever, which makes me want to slosh more martinis. Though our society desperately needs some dependable conventionality, it as desperately does *not* need conventions that have been bought out totally by

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Procter & Gamble and ex-CIA pals of Little Orphan Annie. "McHale's Navy" is, for example, a model of good clean American fun (as it blows up its weekly Japs) compared to the "conventional" spy stories now flooding TV.

Sedulus

Correspondence

Crossovers

Sirs:

The statement in your article entitled "Hanging or Drowning" in your October 24 issue that "His [Ralph Yarborough's] loss can also be traced to *large* numbers of crossover voters – Republicans registered as Democrats who voted for Bentsen in the primary on the theory that he would be easier to defeat in November," was written by someone who has never looked at the figures on GOP Primary voting over the years in Texas.

The largest vote ever cast in a Texas Republican Primary was the 144,000 cast in 1964. This year 110,000 voted in the Republican Primary. Thus if one assumes that every single person who voted in the 1964 GOP Primary and did not vote in this year's GOP Primary went and voted for Bentsen in the Democratic Primary, you will come up with the grand total of only 32,000. That is less than one-third of Bentsen's margin of 92,000 votes over Yarborough. Where are your "large number of crossovers"?

The essence of the Southern one-party system is that the average conservative voter has *never* voted in a Republican Primary and has *never even thought of himself as a Republican.* The average Texas conservative voter thinks of himself as a Democrat. He has *always* voted in the Democratic Primary. He identifies with the Conservative Democratic governors we have had, Shivers, Daniel, Connally and Smith. He voted for Nixon twice and for Eisenhower twice but he has no reason to consider himself a Republican. Why should he be a Republican in this, the largest one-party state in the country? We have not had a Republican governor since the end of Reconstruction in 1873. We have elected but one Republican to *any* statewide office (Sen. John Tower) in the years from 1873 to 1961. We have but three (out of 23) Republican Congressmen, but two (out of 31) Republican state senators, but seven (out of 150) Republican state representatives. All of the conservative action is in our Democratic Party.

That's what beat Ralph Yarborough, the fact that on primary election day 93% of the people who went to the polls voted in the Democratic Primary and only 7% voted in the Republican Primary. I might also point out that the fact that 7% voted in the Republican Primary is a tribute to the bare foothold given the two-party system by Tower's election as the first Republican to hold any statewide office in Texas. Prior to Tower's victory in a 1961 special election the largest vote ever cast in a Texas GOP Primary was the 17,000 cast in 1958. In 1962, one year after Tower won his US Senate seat, the GOP Primary increased to 114,000. That sizeable defection of conservative voters into the GOP Primary almost elected Don Yarborough Governor of Texas over John Connally, who won by a mere 26,000 votes. That Conservative defection did result in the

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nomination of several big city liberals to the State Legislature in 1962. . . .

Logic dictates that it will require the election of a Republican governor to provide the *incentive* needed to induce the average Texas conservative voter to cease being merely a Presidential Republican and become a full-time Republican and vote in the Republican Primary. Remember, George Rawlings won the Virginia Democratic US Senate nomination only after Lynwood Holton became Virginia's first Republican governor since 1869. Six months after Holton took office Harry Byrd, Jr. announced that he was quitting the Democratic Party. That's how a two-party system is built in a one-party stronghold.

Dave Shapiro
The Democratic
Rebuilding Committee
Austin, Texas

Crawling Out from Under

Sirs:

Answering Mr. John Seelye's article, "What the Kids are Reading," (*NR*, October 17, 1970) I would like to add that our (I am, God help me, a Kid) reading is an attempt to crawl out from under our over-freighted college educations, dominated by those critics Mr. Seelye rightfully condemns. The past has already been packaged; there is little excitement there.

Also, the present is under siege. Responding to Hesse or Vonnegut, we are happily *unlearning* how to read our flashy Soph Lit anthologies. Today, the kind of literary revolt represented by Hesse and Vonnegut is becoming institutionalized, *pace* these shiny new anthologies, which, presenting prepackaged *Now* experiences (by throwing in our kickiest and wow pop favorites, eh Kids?) tend to denature our reason for reading, which is to discover something about ourselves. The Kids are not as mindless as Mr. Seelye makes them to be. We are simply being hounded to extremes.

Thus, essential to all of these Kid Classics (especially to one Mr. Seelye ignores, Thomas Pynchon's *V*) is the feeling that we are being pursued, and we have got to handle this somehow. The new hero, unlike any of Hemingway's, does not try to suppress this feeling. Instead, he uses it to advantage; it opens up new roads, like Brautigan's ramblings. This is not antiliterary; instead, it is a predictable function of what literature has become. It is a new recognition of complexity which literature needs every so often to renew itself. The Kids are trying to crawl out from under. If they keep their reasons to themselves, it is because they are very sure that answers such as Mr. Seelye's follow hard on disclosure.

Richard Elias
Philadelphia, Pa.

No Reply

Sirs:

I must decline your offer of space in which to reply to the letters deploring my essay. ("Help! Homework for the Liberated Woman", October 10). Some have nothing in them but crossness and dislike, and merit no answer. Others simply confirm or restate what I wrote. As for those that raise questions of substance, they require lengthier consideration than my baking and canning obligations permit me to give them at this time. When my Lot improves, I hope to send you another essay on some of the points at issue, particularly those regarding child care and the notion of "fullfillment" through paid work.

Janet Malcolm
New York, NY

Kauffmann, *from page 20*

tends some matters and skimps others. The sound-track – yet again – sounds as if it were done in a cold-storage plant, and the dubbing is dismal. Marlon Brando is the naval officer, dusting off his English-toff accent from *Mutiny on the Bounty*, and he spends so much time trying not to be phony that he hasn't much time for anything else. Not that he has much to do, anyway, except to be visible a lot.

I had some reservations about *The Battle of Algiers* in terms of its fundamental purpose, but it was brilliantly made. Such questions can't arise about *Burn!* because it's so badly made.

I couldn't read Robert Stone's novel *A Hall of Mirrors*, and I could hardly sit through the film made from his screenplay of the book. *WUSA* are the call-letters of an H. L. Hunt-type radio station in New Orleans. There are predecessors in this field of attempted American fascism – *Meet John Doe* (1941), *Keeper of the Flame* (1943), *All the King's Men* (1949), among others – but this picture pretends to be more candid by showing the populist opposition as drifters and cynics and hippies and whores and religious fanatics, instead of Gary Cooper on the march. The results are just as phony however. The views are sophomoric attitudes, the dialogue, *mutatis mutandis*, is like that by Abraham Polonsky twenty-five years ago in *Body and Soul* and *Force of Evil*. (Paul Newman says of Anthony Perkins at one point: "This cat is an athlete of perception.")

Stuart Rosenberg's flashy but essentially stupid direction is equally full of arty desperation. Newman, as is too often the case, is too good for his material. The only really piercing moment comes from Joanne Woodward as a drifter framed on a pot charge. Her mounting hysteria before she hangs herself in her cell is a spark of truth in this gassy mess of fake honesty.

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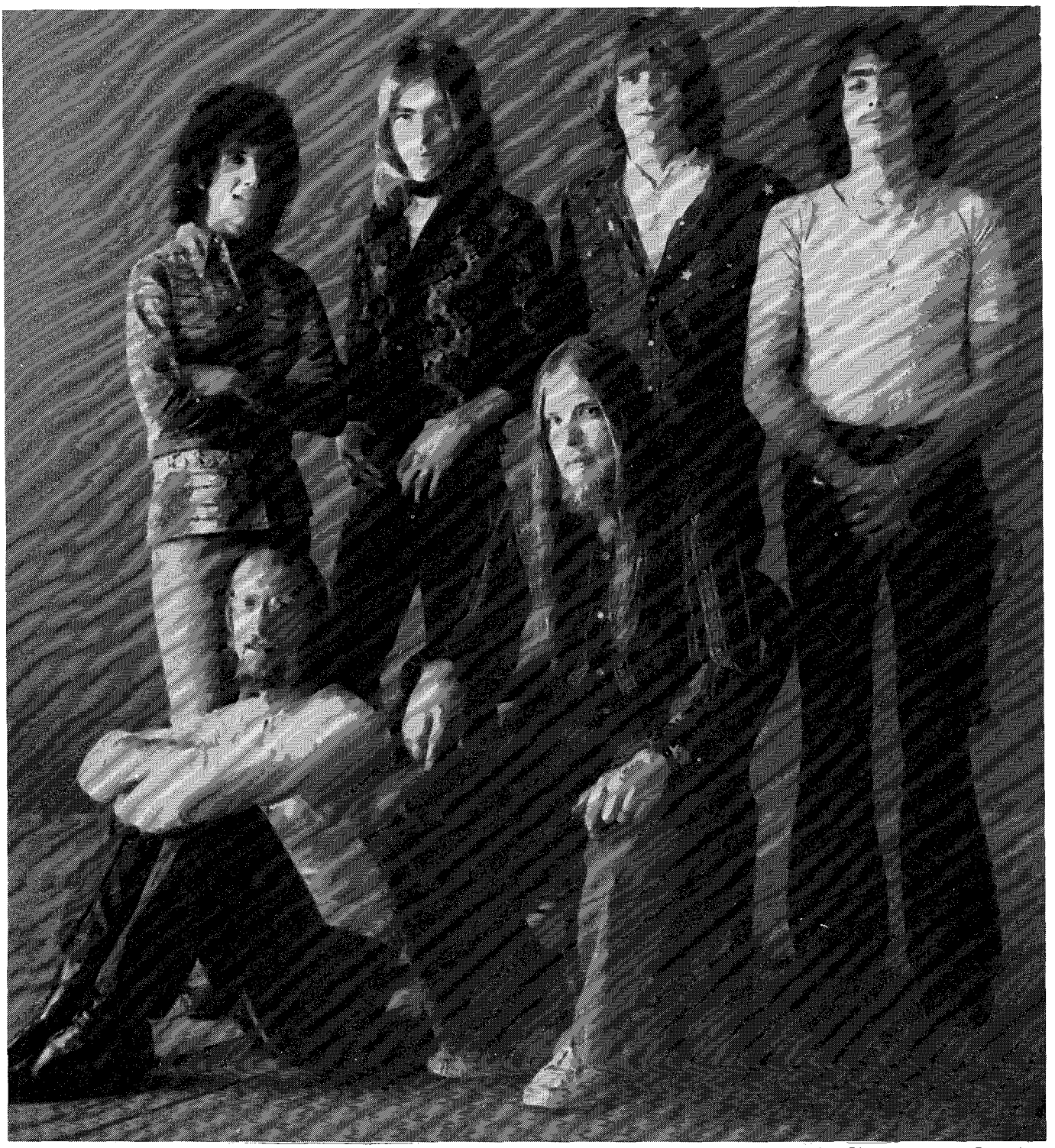

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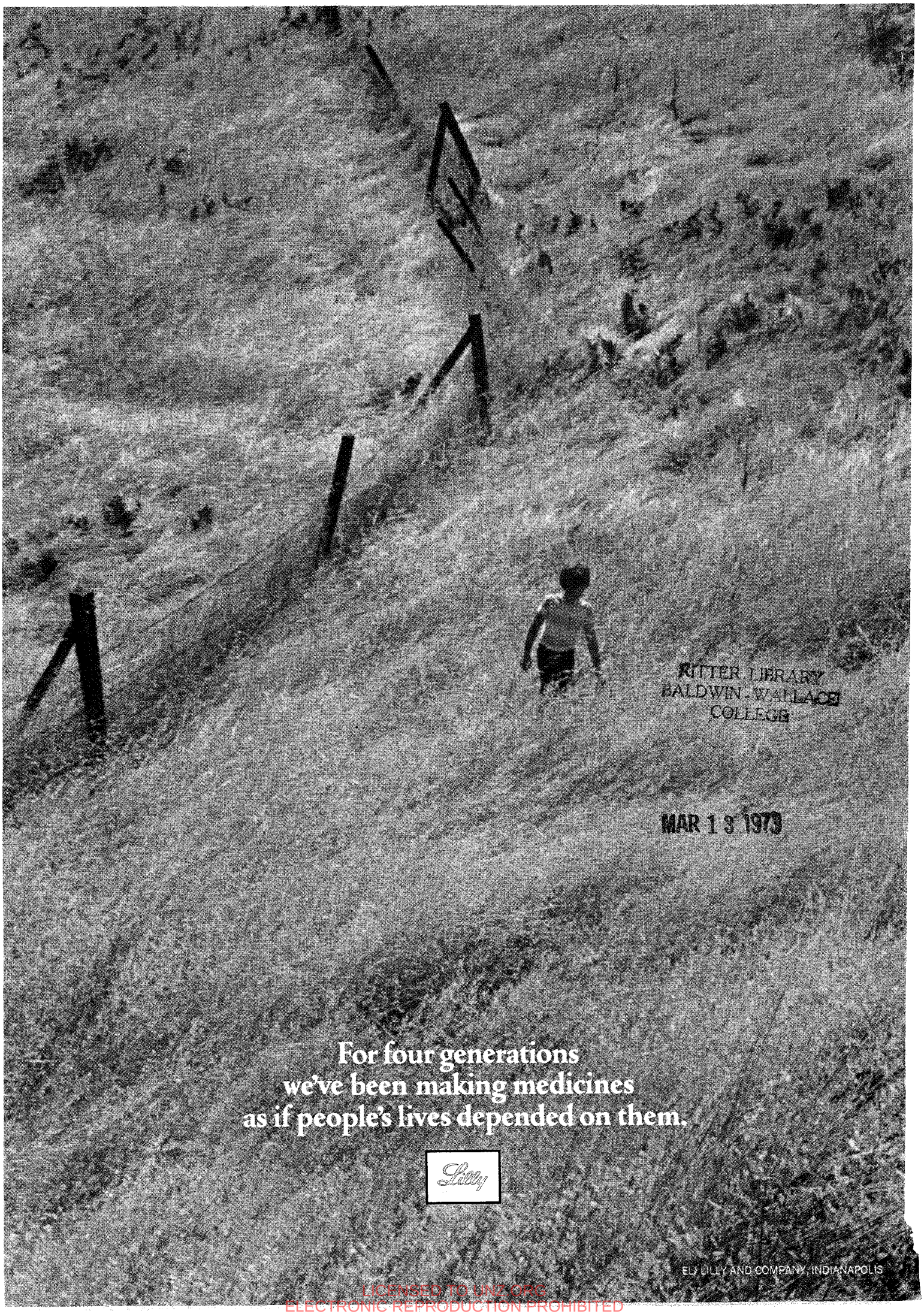

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